UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE MARXIAN THEORY OF THE STATE

SHERMAN H. M. CHANG

A THESIS

IN ECONOMICS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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TO

MY MOTHER

Who died of fear on July 30, 1930 during the period of the Communists' second rule over Changsha, Hunan, China, while this volume was on the press.

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chang is a product of the Chinese revolution initiated by Sun-Yat-Sen. In this revolution he enlisted as a young writer. His patriotic fervor reminds an American of our own patriots of the Revolution of 1776. Yet he comes from Hunan, the center of the communist uprisings in China. Whether the communist theory of the state is correct was for him not an academic question—it was life or death. His great leader, Sun Yat-sen, had made an alliance with Soviet Russia, yet Chang was a small property owner in Hunan. After he came to America for six years of study his property was confiscated. So the communist theory of the state meant payment of his bills in America. I have been intensely interested in Chang's study of his problem. He has yet to write the theory of Nationalism. I have admired his seriousness, his humor, his mental ability, his equanimity. To lose his property or life does not seem to bother him. It does bother him to know what is good for China. Theory for him is squaring himself for China's future. He was surprised that nobody had written fully on the political theory of communism. Everybody treated it as a Labor Theory of Value. As far as I know he is right. This is the first scholarly book on the Marxian Theory of the State.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

University of Wisconsin.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Two years ago when I attempted to make an historical study of typical theories of the economic functions of government, I started, merely out of curiosity, with a chapter on the Marxian theory. As I dug into Marxian literature, I found that the Marxian theory of the economic functions of government is bound up with that of the State, and that I should include a statement of the latter as well. When the chapter was done, it was, to my own surprise, not only a theory of the economic functions of government, but also a formidable theory of the State. Hence, I decided to give up the original plan, at least for the time being, and to make a separate and deeper study of this formidable theory of the State. Accordingly I dug further into Marxian literature and pushed the study as far as I could. Now the results of the study, which is by no means an exhaustive one, are presented in the present volume.

In this study I have attempted to present the Marxian theory as it is, or at least what I consider to be a correct interpretation of it. Hence, it is necessary to state the theory as its exponents themselves would have stated it. Should any reader accuse me of identifying myself with these exponents, he would have misunderstood the nature of the work. Nevertheless, as the work is my own exposition of the theory, the responsibility for the accuracy or inaccuracy of every statement I have made, or of every point I have maintained, rests upon none else than myself.

The purpose of this volume is threefold. First, it serves the purpose of information. As will be discussed in detail in my first chapter, the theory dealt with has been, and still is, overlooked by the academic world; it has been nowhere clearly and correctly stated except in Lenin's *State and Revolution.* Even Lenin's brochure is not a mere statement of the theory from the standpoint of a disinterested person, but a disciple's elaboration of it. Therefore a comprehensive and systematic exposition of the theory, including the elaborations of Lenin and other disciples, will be a handy work of information to those who are interested

in the subject. Such information is especially useful for an understanding of the communist movements in various countries.

Secondly, the theory presented serves as a serious rival to the orthodox social philosophy. It is inspiring as well as formidable. It should set both social philosophers and men of public affairs, irrespective of their acceptance or rejection of it, to reconsidering their position and re-evaluating the present social order. An adverse criticism is always a stimulus to thinking, and a rival theory like the Marxian often serves as a source of inspiration.

Lastly, the theory has a special significance to the thinking Chinese whose five thousand-year old fatherland has, since the successful Nationalist Revolution of 1927, been facing the new problem of "communism vs. non-communism." The young Republic of China, at first, was confronted with such problems as the cabinet system vs. the presidential system, the federal system vs. the unitary system, constitutionalism vs. despotism, the people's government vs. the militarists' government, *etc.* But since 1927 —since the split between the nationalists and the communists— the problem "communism vs. non-communism" has become the central problem, to which all these other problems have been subordinated. All thinking Chinese, either for or against communism, should acquaint themselves with its theory and tactics, as formulated by its exponents from Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels to modern communist leaders. A thorough understanding of the Marxian political theory on the part of the Chinese will be helpful in their choice of a political program for China, whether that program be Marxian or otherwise. Therefore this volume is of practical importance to myself and to my Chinese readers, while it is of merely academic interest to the readers of those countries where the communist movement is insignificant.

My inclusion of a chapter on Soviet Russia needs a few words of explanation. In a discussion of Marxism today one has to take sides either with the communists or with the revisionists. My evidence warrants me in identifying modern communism with original Marxism, and modern communism is developed chiefly by Russian writers and is being experimented upon in Soviet Russia. Such being the case, it is logical to make a test of the theory in its

application in Soviet Russia, in order not only to link up theory with practice, but also to clarify certain points in the theory. To put the same thing in another way: Whether or not Soviet Russia is Marxian depends upon whether one's definition of the word Marxian is in agreement with communism or with revisionism. Once a stand is taken, one has either to affirm or to deny that Soviet Russia is Marxian. The truth or falsity of this affirmation or denial, as well as of the definition itself, of course, depends upon the correctness or incorrectness of one's evidence.

I may be accused of having utilized second-hand sources in my chapter on Soviet Russia. This I do not deny. The book as a whole is not a specific study of Soviet Russia and the one chapter on Soviet Russia deals mainly with broad theoretical problems. As a matter of fact, only in Sections 4 and 5 of this chapter have I utilized second-hand sources. Other sections consist of such theoretical discussions that little specific data are needed and utilized. Such a limited use of second-hand sources is not entirely out of place in scientific research.

Attention should be called to the fact that this volume is intended to cover not all phases of Marxism, but only one of its phases, the Marxian Theory of the State. Little mention or use of Marxian economics is made. Where the term Marxism is used, the Marxian theory of the State is generally meant. The shorter term is used only as a matter of convenience.

A word about the citations and footnotes. The present volume is substantially a history of thought. In such a work citations express the thought of the original authors more truly than the writer's own words. Again, as the subject under investigation involves a good many controversial questions, nearly every important statement of mine can be disputed. It is necessary that such statements be supported by actual documents. Hence, the work is full of citations and footnotes. A critic is expected to follow them closely before he launches his attack. But a busy person who just wants to get some idea of the subject may omit them.

I should now like to acknowledge my immense indebtedness to Professor S. Howard Patterson of the University of Pennsyl-

vania, under whose kindly guidance the work has been prepared. I have had innumerable conferences with him and have received from him invaluable assistance. Indeed, without his constant encouragement the work might not have been completed. I also desire to express my deep appreciation of certain valuable suggestions given by Professor Raymond T. Bye of the University of Pennsylvania, by Mr. A. Trachtenberg, editor of the International Publishers, by Mr. A. Landy, editor of *The Daily Worker,* and by Mr. D. Benjamin, former Assistant Director of the Workers' School. For their helpful criticisms, my thanks are due to Professors James T. Young, Earnest M. Patterson, William E. Lingelbach, Karl W. H. Scholz, Assistant Professor Overton H. Taylor and Miss Anne Bezanson (lecturer) all of whom were at the University of Pennsylvania. I am particularly grateful to Professor Karl W. H. Scholz for checking up some German references and to Assistant Professor Overton H. Taylor for improving the diction of certain pages. For further improvement of the diction, I am greatly indebted to Dr. Ethel M. Thornbury, Assistant Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, who has carefully gone through the whole work.

Above all, I wish to express my deepest sense of obligation to Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin, with whom I studied during the academic year 1925-26. Through him I made my first acquaintance with Marxism, and from him I obtained, have still kept and will never lose, the inspiration then given. It was in two long conferences with him, held in Washington, D. C., two years ago, that I worked out my original plan of the larger study already mentioned, of which the present volume is a by-product. Even in the preparation of this volume I have received his kindly encouragement and assistance. He has read all my manuscripts during the various stages of the preparation. Without that valuable year of my study with Professor Commons, I wonder if I would have been able to produce this volume at all. If this volume could claim any merit or contribution, it is due to my teacher, Professor Commons, whose stimulation and inspiration will be ever-lasting in my intellectual development.

I also owe a word of thanks to Messrs. Herbert Brauns, a graduate of Temple University, and Maynard C. Krueger, instructor of the University of Pennsylvania, for their assistance in translating several German references; to Messrs. Raymond T. Bowman, instructor of the University of Pennsylvania, Y. Y. Hsu and T. S. Li, graduate students of Columbia University, for their helpful suggestions; to Messrs. J. F. Ho, an independent student of Marxism, Y. Y. Cheng, a graduate student of Columbia University, and Charles H. Kerr and Company of Chicago for their kindness in collecting for me the out-of-print books on Marxism; to Mr. Y. K. Chu, a student of Temple University, for preparing the bibliography; and to Miss Helen Price, a student of Drexel Institute, and Mr. C. H. Li, a graduate student of the University of Pennsylvania, for drawing the charts. I am especially obliged to Mr. J. F. Ho who kindly let me use his whole private collection of Marxian literature.

Sherman H. M. Chang.

University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa.
April 1, 1930.

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THE MARXIAN THEORY OF THE STATE

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

I. The Place of the State in Economics

In the history of economic science, economists have generally taken the existing State for granted. The *raison d'être* of this attitude is that the State is regarded as the proper subject of discussion only in the field of political science, and that economists, as such, have little necessity to consider it. Such reasoning arises partly from the classical tradition and partly from a rigid application of the principle of specialization in the social sciences.

Adam Smith, the "Father of Political Economy", minimized the importance of the State; for his contemptuous attitude toward the State is clearly shown in his "individualism" which was intended to reduce its functions to an irreducible minimum.[1] The system of the classical economists, as characterized by a professor of political science, "is presumed to flow from the original postulates of private individual property, of unimpeded contract under a social sanction, and a mobility of the strata of society unhindered by non-economic forces."[2] But Adam Smith and J. S. Mill, unlike Ricardo and most modern economists, did not evade a consideration of social arrangements and institutions.[3] It was Ricardo

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[1] For Smith's discussion of functions of government, see his *Wealth of Nations,* Cannan edition, Vol. II, Book IV, Chapter IX and Book V, Chapter I, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1904.

[2] Stephen Leacock, *Elements of Political Science,* p. 8, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1921.

[3] As noted above, Smith considered the functions of government. He also analyzed in detail such social arrangements as the mercantilist scheme and the Physiocrat system (see *Wealth of Nations,* Vol. II, Book IV, Chapters VIII and IX) and discussed such institutions as guilds, chartered companies, etc. (see ibid., Vol. I, Book I, Chapter X and Vol. II, Book V Chapter I).

Mill devoted the entire Book V of his *Principles of Political Economy* to the discussion of "The Influence of Government" (Ashley edition, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1909). Besides, he regarded the mode of

who first gave economics the modern abstract form, disconnecting the subject not only from the fundamental question of the State but also from all other institutions; and this, in spite of his primary concern with the practical problems of currency and taxation.[4] While the insistence of the German Historical School upon the study of economic history resulted only in "a narrative account of industrial development",[5] the emphasis of the Austrians upon the analysis of subjective value strengthened the Ricardian tradition,[6] a tradition which has been followed even by the neo-classicists.[7] Modern textbooks on economics are, in many respects, simply popularizations of Marshall's *Principles*. As a consequence, modern economics has been divorced not only from the study of the State but also, until recently, from that of social institutions in

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distribution as the consequence of particular social arrangements, as "a matter of human institution solely" (ibid., Book II, Chapter I, p. 200). So he discussed at length in Book II such institutions as property, inheritance, slavery, etc.

[4] "The social organization.....is simple and enduring to Ricardo." ....W. C. Mitchell, "Prospects of Economics," Sec. 2, in *The Trend of Economics* (edited by R. G. Tugwell), p. 9, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1924. "Ricardo's pecuniary and fiscal conception of the subject leaves scanty space for a consideration of institutions."—W. H. Hamilton, "The Place of Value Theory in Economics, I," *Journal of Political Economy,* Vol. XXVI, 1918, p. 238.

[5] Thorstein Veblen, "Why is Economics Not an Evolutionary Science?" (written in 1898), in *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization and Other Essays,* p. 58, B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1919.

[6] Cf. Karl Menger, *Untersuchungen iiber die Methode der Sozialwissenschaften und der Politischen Okonomie inbesondere,* Vienna, 1883, and *Die Irrthiimer des Historismus in der deutschen National Okonomie,* Vienna, 1884. In the words of Veblen, "the Austrians have on the whole showed themselves unable to break with the classical tradition that economics is a taxonomic science."—Veblen, op. cit., p. 73.

[7] For instance, take the main works of Alfred Marshall. His *Principles of Economics* (8th edition, 1920) deals with value and distribution in the abstract form, his *Industry and Trade* (3rd edition, 1920) is "a study of industrial technique and business organization," and his *Money, Credit and Commerce* (1923) treats of money, business credit and international trade (all these three books are published by MacMillan Co., London). Even in the latter two volumes, little attention is paid to governmental aspects and such fundamental institution as private property. As Veblen describes Marshall, "the taxonomic bearing is, after all, the dominant feature."—"The Preconceptions of Economic Science, III" (written in 1900), in *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization and Other Essays.*

general.[8] Although there is a revival of the study of institutions on the part of economists,[9] the question of the State is still untouched.

Another reason for the neglect by economists of the question of the State is, as already indicated, the rigid application of the principle of specialization. According to the generally accepted definition of economics, it is the duty of economists to study the business life of man, and this study falls into two parts, wealth and man.[10] Yet the study of man in economics is, in many cases, a study of the individual, isolated from his surrounding institutions, for it is deemed to be conformable to the principle of specialization that such an important institution as the State should be left to political scientists to investigate only.

Needless to say that some division of labor is necessary in the social sciences. But it is presumptuous to draw a rigid line of demarcation between economics and political science. "The modern State is at every turn an economic organization."[11] To take the State for granted is to take the vast economic organization for granted. While sociologists have made a considerable contribution to political theory,[12] economists have done little in that direction. Only recently, as a result of the revival of the study of institutions, some economists have made an invasion into the field of jurisprudence.[13] It remains to be seen whether or not they will go one step farther and cross another boundary line right into political theory.

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[8] Cf. Hamilton, "The Place of Value Theory in Economics," I, II, *Journal of Political Economy,* Vol. XXVI, 1918; and Veblen, "Why is Economics Not an Evolutionary Science?", and "The Preconceptions of Economics," I, II, III, in *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization and Other Essays.*

[9] Cf. Mitchell, "Prospects of Economics," Sec. 6, in *The Trend of Economics.*

[10] Cf. Marshall, *Principles of Economics,* p. I.

[11] H. J. Laski, *Authority in the Modern State,* p. 56, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1919.

[12] See H. E. Barnes, "Some Contributions of Sociology to Modern Political Theory," in C. E. Merriam, H. E. Barnes and others, *A History of Political Theory, Recent Times,* MacMillan Co., New York, 1924.

[13] R. T. Ely's *Property and Contract* (2 vols., 1914) and J. R. Commons's *Legal Foundations of Capitalism* (1924) are illustrations (both are published by MacMillan Co., New York).

The assumption of the soundness of the existing State in economics is tenable only in so far as no question has been raised about its validity. But today, aside from anarchists, communists, and socialists, all of whom have challenged that validity for a long time, political scientists like Ernest Barker[14] and H. J. Laski,[15] sociologists like Emile Durkheim[16] and M. P. Follet,[17] jurists like Leon Duguit,[18] psychologists like Graham Wallas,[19] philosophers like Bertrand Russell[20] and publicists like Herbert Croly[21] —all have questioned the value of the existing State and suggested new forms for organization of the State. If these thinkers' indictments of the existing State are not altogether wrong, then its foundations are shaky. Now the question in economics becomes: is it still permissible to take for granted the soundness of the existing State which has been attacked from all sides? Or, to put it in another way, is it of much use merely to work out the niceties of equilibriums of demand and supply without giving due consideration to the question of the existing State which is of doubtful value? The time has come when economists should no longer ignore that vast economic organization, which is called the State.

In the absence of any theory of the State in economics,[22] students of the social sciences may be interested in the study of a

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[14] See his article, "The Discredited State," *The Political Quarterly,* Feb., 1915.

[15] See his *Authority in the Modern State* and his constructive work, *Grammar of Politics,* George Allen and Unwin, London, 1925.

[16] See his *De la Division du Travail Social,* Paris, 1902, (or 5th edition, 1926), and his *Les Règles de la Methode Sociologique,* Paris, 1912.

[17] See her *New State,* Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1918.

[18] See his *Law in the Modern State,* tr. by Mr. and Mrs. H. J. Laski, B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1919.

[19] See his *Great Society,* MacMillan Co., New York, 1914.

[20] See his *Proposed Roads to Freedom,* Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1919.

[21] See his *Progressive Democracy,* MacMillan Co., New York, 1915.

[22] If there is anything in modern economic literature like a theory of the State, it is, so far as the author knows, the going-concern theory of J. R. Commons.—Cf. his *Legal Foundations of Capitalism,* Chapter V. However, the going-concern theory formulated in this book is not intended as a particular theory of the State, but rather as a theory of any concern or

theory of the State, already formulated by a group of radical thinkers who are not professional economists in the usual sense of the term, applied in one of the largest countries of the world, but generally neglected by orthodox social theorists. It is for this reason that the author, in the present volume, attempts to offer a comprehensive presentation of the Marxian theory of the State. We shall point out presently how this theory has been overlooked in the social sciences.

2. The Place of the Marxian Theory of the State in the Social Sciences

Before Lenin published his *State and Revolution* in 1917, the Marxian theory of the State had been almost entirely neglected not only in economics but also in sociology and political science. Even since 1917, it has not been clearly understood by many social scientists. In no book on the history of economics which the author has seen, is there any mention of the Marxian theory of the State.[23] In texts on economic principles or on economic problems, there are sometimes found one or two chapters on socialism, but the Marxian theory of the State is scarcely dealt with, except for a slight reference to the question of proletarian dictatorship in connection with Bolshevism or Soviet Russia. Nor is it given adequate discussion even in treatises on the history of socialism.[24]

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organization. It takes a careful reader to detect that it is also a theory of the State. Or else, we might claim Franz Oppenheimer's theory of the State (cf. his *State* tr. by J. M. Gitterman, Vanguard Press, New York, 1922) as one developed by an economist, since he is just as good an economist as a political scientist or a sociologist. Unfortunately he is somewhat forgotten by economists themselves and is usually classified as a sociologist rather than otherwise.—Cf. R. G. Gettell, *History of Political Thought,* p. 465, The Century Co., New York, 1924.

[23] For instance, in Charles Gide's and Charles Rist's *History of Economic Doctrines* (tr. by R. Richards, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, undated), there is a more lengthy discussion of Marxism than in any other similar work, yet the Marxian theory of the State remains untouched.

[24] Take, for example, Thomas Kirkup's *History of Socialism,* Adam and Charles Black, London, 1906. In Chapter VII on Karl Marx, Kirkup has made no mention of Marx's theory of proletarian dictatorship, although he has noticed Engels's passage on the theory of the withering-away of the proletarian State (cf. ibid., pp. 150-151). Again, take Werner Sombart's *Socialism*

In their writings other than textbooks, particularly in their works on Marxism, economists, with few exceptions,[25] have again overlooked the Marxian theory of the State, directing their attention to Marxian economics or philosophy only.[26]

Let us turn to writers in the field of sociology and political science. Sociologists have likewise ignored the Marxian theory

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and the Social Movement (tr. by M. Epstein, E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1909). Here Sombart has recognized Marx's theory of proletarian dictatorship (pp. 69-71), but overlooked other phases of Marx's theory of the State. In H. W. Laidler's *Socialism in Thought and in Action* (MacMillan Co., New York, 1920) which is a popular text, there is one chapter entitled, "The Socialist Commonwealth," which, however, contains no Marxian theory of the State. In a recent book on *A History of Socialist Thought* by the same author (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1927), four chapters are devoted to Marxian socialism, but there is only one quotation from Marx concerning proletarian dictatorship. Only in a later chapter called "Prnciples and Tactics of Communism," are there a few sections covering certain phases of the Marxian theory of the State.

[25] The earliest work which has covered some phases of the Marxian theory of the State is perhaps V. G. Simkhovitch's *Marxism vs. Socialism,* Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1913. Since the publication of Lenin's *State and Revolution* in 1917, a few economists, particularly the German economists, have begun to pay some attention to the Marxian theory of the State. Thus in 1920 there appeared two books, written by economists, both of which deal with that theory at some length, although inaccurately: J. S. Nicholson, *The Revival of Marxian,* E. P. Dutton and Co., New York; and Wilhelm Mautner, *Der Bolschewismus,* Berlin. In the same year E. Drahn compiled Marx's and Engels's writings on proletarian dictatorship under the title of "Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels über die Diktatur des Proletariats" (Berlin). In 1922 Max Beer published in *the Labour Monthly* (London) a series of articles on "An Inquiry into Dictatorship," the third of which deals with Marx's theory of proletarian dictatorship. In 1923 Hans Kelsen published his *Socialisimus und Staat* (Leipsig), which includes both the theory of revisionists and the theory of Marxists. In 1927 there came into existence M. M. Bober's *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge), in which there are scattered discussions of various phases of the Marxian theory of the State. Other works on Bolshevism, not written by economists but somewhat related to the Marxian theory of the State, are purposely omitted here.

[26] It is neither possible nor necessary to enumerate here all the books and articles of economists on Karl Marx which have not covered the Marxian theory of the State. For illustration, we may just cite two famous works: E. Böhm-Bawerk, *Karl Marx and the Close of His System,* tr. by A. M. MacDonald, MacMillan Co., New York, 1898; and E. R. A. Seligman, *The Economic Interpretation of History,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1902. The former is a discussion of Marxian economics and the latter, a discussion of Marxian philosophy. In both, just as in many others, there can be found little reference to the Marxian theory of the State.

of the State.[27] Nor has this theory received proper attention in political science. In all the texts on political science, there is little discussion of it.[28] Even in books on the history of political thought, it has not been adequately treated.[29] Again, in their works on the State, political scientists have made no reference to it.[30] Probably H. J. Laski is the only one among them who has paid some attention to its general outline.[31]

In short, there is no doubt that the Marxian theory of the State has been generally neglected in the social sciences. If it had no

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[27] In books on the history of sociology or social theory, as in those on the history of economics, there is no mention of the Marxian theory of the State. For instance, in Pitirim Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1928), there is a lengthy discussion of Karl Marx, but no reference is made to his theory of the State. In J. P. Lichtemberger's *Development of Social Theory* (The Century Co., New York, 1923), there is not a single word about Marx.

[28] In J. W. Garner's *Introduction to Political Science* (1910), and *Political Science and Government* (1928, both are published by American Book Co., New York), both of which are standard texts, we find no mention of the Marxian theory of the State. In Leacock's *Elements of Political Science,* there is one chapter on socialism, in which Marx's theory of surplus value is discussed but his theory of the State is omitted! Again, in F. A. Ogg's and P. O. Ray's *Introduction to American Government* (The Century Co., New York, 1922), there is a little discussion of anarchism but nothing on Marxism.

[29] In Merriam, Barnes and others, *A History of Political Theories, Recent Times,* there is one chapter on proletarian political theory, written by P. H. Douglas, in which we find two quotations on proletarian dictatorship, one from Marx and one from Bukharin, and one quotation on the definition of the bourgois State from Lenin. The treatment is by no means adequate. In Gettell's *History of Political Thought,* although one chapter is devoted to the "Rise of Socialist Political Thought" and another, to the "Recent Proletarian Political Thought," there are only one page on Marxism and two pages on Bolshevism. Even in these three pages, the Marxian theory of the State is not accurately stated.

[30] For illustration, we may cite two works, one conservative and one progressive, W. W. Willoughby, *The Nature of the State,* MacMillan Co., New York, 1896; and Hugo Krabbe, *The Modern Idea of the State,* tr. by G. H. Sabine and W. J. Shepard, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1922. In both we find no discussion of the Marxian theory.

[31] Laski has three works on Marxism: I. *Karl Marx, An Essay,* The Fabian Society, London, 1921(?); 2. *Communism,* Williams and Norgate, London, 1927; 3. "The Value and Defects of the Marxist Philosophy," *Current History,* Oct., 1928. Both the first and the third give a brief but fairly accurate description of the Marxian program, which touches upon certain phases of the Marxian theory of the State. The second contains a chapter entitled "The Communist Theory of the State" which is rather comprehensive but in which little reference is made to Marx and Engels.

practical bearing at all, we might rest contented with such neglect. But it has not only been "revived" in communist theory,[32] it is also being applied in Soviet Russia. Therefore a detailed inquiry into it, we believe, will fill a gap in the literature of the social sciences and will, perhaps, afford us a better understanding of what has happened in Soviet Russia.

3. The Method of Treatment

In our treatment of the subject, we have tried first to state the theory as objectively and accurately as possible and then give our comments on it. In most cases these comments are reserved for the final chapter. In other words, we have tried to avoid any bias in stating the theory and to present our judgment of it afterwards. This is, we believe, the only scientific way in which a true picture of the theory can be presented. However, for the purpose of analysis we shall include or exclude a given writer according as his ideas are in agreement or in disagreement with the theory under investigation. Yet the inclusion of an individual does not suggest approval of him, nor does the exclusion of an individual indicate disapproval of him, for such approval or disapproval is a separate question, which depends upon one's opinion of the school of thought to which the individual in question really belongs.

In the present work we have included the theory of Lenin and other modern communist leaders; we have linked it up with that of Marx and Engels. In other words, modern communism, which is sometimes called Bolshevism,[33] is identified with Marxism.[34]

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[32] Cf. Nicholson, op., cit.

[33] As a matter of fact, the name "Bolshevik" or "Bolshevist" has never been adopted as the official name of a party in Russia. In the Seventh Bolshevik Congress held in Jan. 1918, the name "Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party" was for the first time changed into "Russian Communist Party."—Cf. Mäutner, op. cit., p. 121, and *The Labour International Handbook,* 1921, pp. 286-287, Labour Publishing Co., London. Moreover, since the formation of the Third (Communist) International in March, 1919, all the parties in the various countries, affiliated with it, have adopted the name "Communist." For in the Statutes adopted as its Second Congress of July-August, 1920, it is provided that "all the parties and organizations comprising the Communist International bear the name of the Com-

This identification is based not merely upon the claims of the communists themselves,[35] but upon our own findings.

We have tried in vain to discover the differences between original Marxism (in the sense of the Marxism of Marx and Engels) and modern communism. Doubtless there are, as will be shown later on, a few seeming deviations of the latter from the former. Yet under a closer scrutiny, such deviations are extensions or refinements of, rather than differences from, original Marxism. Extensions or refinements of a system differ from "differences" from it, in that the former are still based on the original system but are developed to cover situations which have not been considered before, while the latter are dissimilarities from, or contrasts to, the fundamental principles of the original system. For instance, the idea of proletarian dictatorship is a fundamental tenet of original Marxism,[36] and a denial of it would be a point of "difference" from Marxism. But the dominant rôle of the Communist Party in such a dictatorship is simply an extension or refinement of original Marxism, because it is not a denial of the principle of proletarian dictatorship and because that dictatorship without a strong party would be impossible in practice.[37] This question of practicability was not carefully considered by the founders of the system, perhaps, because there was no occasion to do so. So with other extensions and refinements of Marxism made by modern

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munist Party of the particular country (section of the Communist International)." This is also one of the "Twenty-One Conditions" of its membership.—See *Theses and Statutes of the Second World Congress of the Communist International,* Contemporary Publishing Association (?), New York, 1920, or *The Labour International Handbook,* 1921, pp. 190-193 (in the latter the Statutes and Twenty-One Conditions are also reproduced in full).

[34] Even Karl Kautsky, the critic of Soviet Russia, admits this much: "The Bolshevists are Marxists, and have inspired the proletarian sections coming under their influence with great enthusiasm for Marxism, see his *Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* p. 140, tr. by H. J. Stenning, National Labour Press, London, 1919.

[35] This can be seen in all their writings.

[36] Cf. infra, Chapters V and VI. Even Edward Bernstein, the revisionist, has recognized the fact that Marx and Engels established their theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.—See his *Evolutionary Socialism* (first published in 1899), p. 102, tr. by E. C. Harvey, B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1909.

[37] Cf. infra, Chapter VIII.

communists. In short, when modern communism is linked up with original Marxism, we find no essential discrepancies but simply a coherent system.

Again, we have spared no effort in considering the so-called differences between Marxism and "Bolshevism", which have been pointed out by various writers. After careful consideration, we have discovered that these "differences" are either superficial ones,[38] or indications that these writers themselves differ from Marx.[39] As a result of our inquiry we have become convinced that the system of Marx and Engels and that of modern communist leaders, notably Lenin, are not two separate systems but a single system.

No sooner have we discovered the identity of modern communism with original Marxism than we have found the divergence of revisionism from original Marxism. Revisionism, *i. e.*, revisionist Marxism or socialism, is here taken to denote not only the socialism of Bernstein[40] but also that of the so-called "orthodox Marxists" who are opposed to the Marxian theory of the

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[38] For instance, in Mautner's *Der Bolschewismus,* there are pointed out eight differences between Marx-Engels and Lenin (pp. 212-214). Space does not permit us to cite all the original statements and show their mistakes. The sixth difference concerning the rôle of the Communist Party in proletarian dictatorship has been explained above and will be further discussed in a later chapter (cf. infra, Chapter VIII, sec. 3). As the first difference respecting the concept of the State, the third and fourth on the question of violence, the fifth regarding the form of proletarian dictatorship and the eighth concerning the ripeness of the proletarian revolution will be dealt with later on (cf. infra p. 50, n. 25; p. 71, n. 39; p. 79, n. 85; p. 81, n. 90; and pp. 143-145), suffice it here to point out that the second, and seventh differences are hardly anything more than a play upon words.

[39] In his *Bolshevism* (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1919), John Spargo first makes a criticism of Marx's idea of proletarian dictatorship before he asserts that such idea is not Marx's (pp. 267-268). His statement that "Marx himself momentarily lapsed into the error of Blanqui ....." simply means that Spargo differs from Marx.

[40] The name "revisionism" was originally employed to designate the views of Bernstein as given in his *Evolutionary Socialism.* As Bernstein himself put it, "the views put forward in the book have received the bye-name of REVISIONISM, and.....the book, can, all in all, be regarded as an exposition of the theoretical and political tendencies of the German social democratic revisionists."—Ibid, Preface to English edition, p. xxii. This is what we would call revisionism in the narrow sense, or narrow revisionism.

State.[41] In spite of the fact that it has been fostered under Marxism,[42] revisionism, which, as the name indicates, is *Marxism re-*

[41] Since the World War, these so-called "orthodox Marxists" have shown both in words and in deeds that they, like Bernstein and other revisionists, are opposed to the Marxian theory of the State and its consequent tactics, although some of them like Kautsky fought against Bernstein's revisionism before the war (cf. Kautsky's *Bernstein und das Sozialdemocratische Programm,* Stuttgart, 1899). So, according to our definition, Kautsky, Emile Vandervelde and other leaders of the Second International are included as revisionists, although a detailed classification might list Kautsky as a "centrist." Such a detailed classification would be hardly possible because there is, as Vandervelde himself has observed, "a diversity of shadings" among individuals and various factions within the revisionist camp (cf. his *Socialism vs. the State,* p. 23, tr. by Charles H. Kerr, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1919). Besides, there are certain general principles which, as will be shown presently, are common almost to the whole camp. Revisionism in this broad sense is the same as what Eve Dorf calls "Social Democratic Theory" (see Scott Nearing and the Labour Research Group, *The Law of Social Revolution,* Chapter XIX, Social Science Publishers, New York, 1926), or what N. Bukharin calls "the Marxism of the Epigones" or "the Marxism of the Second International" (see his *Lenin as a Marxist,* pp. 9-17, Communist Party of Great Britain, London, 1925).

A few words more about Kautsky, since he was so well-known an Marxist before the war, "the world's leading Marxian" as one writer called him in 1915 (cf. W. E. Walling, *The Socialists and the War,* p. 16, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1915). At the end of 1924 when he pointed out that the reformist (revisionist) conception had been simply that the monarchy could be removed by a process of gradual reforms, instead of by revolution or forcible overthrow, he declared: "The discussion is now only of academic interest as the Revolution actually came" (see his *Labour Revolution,* p. 31, tr. by H. J. Stenning, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1925). Since this difference is gone and since Kautsky, the "orthodox Marxist," as will be shown in the next section, believes, with any "orthodox revisionist," in the legal, peaceful and democratic means to socialism, we are justified in identifying the one with the other. As a matter of fact, the whole book, *The Labour Revolution,* unlike his *Road to Power* (tr. by A. M. Simons, Samuel A. Bloch, Chicago, 1909) or *Social Revolution* (tr. by A. M. and M. W. Simons, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1902) both of which are more Marxian than revisionistic, is Kautsky's "Evolutionary Socialism." For instance, he maintains in his *Road to Power,* p. 125, that it would be a "political suicide" for the socialists to "join in any coalition or bloc policy," but he holds in his *Labour Revolution,* p. 54, that the coalition government is the transition government from capitalism to socialism!

[42] Bernstein, the founder of the narrow revisionism, speaks of Marx and Engels as "men whose writings have exercised the greatest influence on my socialist line of thought, and one of whom—Engels—honoured me with his personal friendship not only till his death but who showed beyond the grave, in his testamentary arrangements, a proof of his confidence in me."—*Evolutionary Socialism,* Preface of 1899, p. xvi. Again, he remarks that he, like other socialists, has "sprung from Marx-Engels school."—Ibid, p. xvii. So one writer declared in 1901 that Bernstein had been "identified with

vised, differs from original Marxism, from all its fundamental propositions, especially as regards the question of the State, and is consequently excluded from our treatment of the Marxian theory of the State. Being quite contrary to the claim of some revisionists (in the sense just defined) that they are more Marxian than the communists, this conclusion needs elaboration. The best way of doing this is to contrast Marxism with revisionism point by point, with special reference to the theory of the State.

4. Marxism vs. Revisionism

The vital points of Marxism from which revisionism differs may be summarized as follows:

1. Marxism has as its underlying philosophy the materialist interpretation of history (a monist theory of history), one important element of which is dialectics,[43] while revisionism has a pluralist theory of history, the essence of which is eclecticism,[44] as distinguished from dialectics.

2. Marxism is solely a working-class socialism and its emphasis is therefore laid upon class interests and class struggles.[45] Revisionism, although claiming to strive for the interest of labor, is socialism for the welfare of society as a whole, and its attention is

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Marxism for twenty years or more."—See G. A. Kleene, "Bernstein vs. 'Old-School' Marxism," *Annuals of the Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. XVIII, p. 398, 1901. Vandervelde has also pointed out that the three tendencies or groups of the Second International "are connected more or less with Marx and Engels."—*Socialism vs. the State,* p. 22. In another connection, the same author has indicated that Social Democracy, Socialist Party, *Parti Ouvrier,* Labour Party, etc., followed some of "the ideas of Marx and Engels."—Ibid., p. 60. Even Bukharin, one of the communist leaders, has regarded revisionism as the second phase of the historical development of Marxism.—*Lenin as a Marxist,* pp. 7, 9.

[43] Cf. Infra, Chapter II. Even Bernstein has recognized the materialist interpretation of history as "the most important element in the foundation of Marxism, the fundamental law so to say which penetrates the whole system."—*Evolutionary Socialism,* p. 5.

[44] Cf. Bernstein, op. cit., pp. 13-17; J. R. MacDonald, *Socialism and Society,* pp. 37-38, Independent Labour Party, London, 1905; and Philip Snowden, *Socialism and Syndicalism,* pp. 74-75, Warwick and York, Baltimore (undated, possibly 1913?).

[45] Cf. infra, Chapter II, Sec. 4.

consequently directed to "community interests" or "common welfare", as against class interests and class struggles.[46]

3. It follows that, in Marxism, the State, even the proletarian State (the Socialist State), is always viewed as an instrument of domination of one class over another,[47] while in revisionism the State is either conceived of as a distinct organ "voicing the need of all classes" and acting "for the good of all concerned",[48] or considered to be changeable from an organ of class domination to that of management representing the general interests of society, *i. e.*, a classless organ for the interests of the whole community.[49]

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[46] "The idea of democracy includes, in the conception of the present day, a notion of justice—an equality of rights for *all members* of the community" (italics ours).—Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism,* p. 143. It should be noted here that according to Bernstein, democracy is "not only the means but also the substance" of socialism.—Ibid., p. 166. As an open opponent of the idea of class struggle, Bernstein has remarked: ".....I consider the middle class—not excepting the German—in their bulk to be still fairly healthy, not only economically, but also morally" (ibid., p. 149, n.), and quoted with approval the statement from a Swiss paper that the new periods come "to serve gradually as a substitute for the class war, to absorb it into themselves by the building up of the social democracy" (ibid., p. 164).

"The Political movement.....must be a movement of the whole of society and not one of its functions—the working classes."—MacDonald, *Socialism and Society,* p. 131. For his refutation of the Marxian doctrine of class struggle, see ibid., Chapter V. Snowden also rejects this doctrine and emphasizes the "enlightened self-interest and ethical impulses of all classes."—Cf. his *Socialism and Syndicalism,* pp. 78-80. Even Kautsky, although retaining the slogan *class struggle,* has given up the conception of working-class interests as distinct from other class interests. In his *Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* for instance, he defines socialism as "freedom and bread for all" (p. 89) and is anxious to see that "all classes and interests are represented in the governing body according to their strength," (p. 77).

[47] Cf. infra, Chapter III.

[48] Cf. MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 71, 133-135, and *Socialism Critical and Constructive,* p. 223 ff., Cassell and Co., London, 1921.

[49] Cf. Morris Hillquit, *Socialism Summed Up,* the concluding paragraph in Chapter III, p. 43, H. K. Fly Co., New York, 1913; Snowden, op. cit., p. 175; and Vandervelde, op. cit., pp. 131, 144-150, 224.

Bernstein defines democracy "as an absence of class government, as the indication of a social condition where a political privilege belongs to no one class as opposed to the whole community."—*Evolutionary Socialism,* p. 142. Kautsky, like Hillquit and others, does not reject the Marxian class-domination theory of the State (cf. his *Road to Power,* pp. 5, 11, and his *Labour Revolution,* p. 57), but as he insists that the socialist State must be a democracy or a democratic republic (cf. infra. p. 20, n. 65), such a democracy

4. According to Marxism, the step to be taken in order to realize socialism is to abolish the bourgeois State through the destruction of its machinery, while all measures of reform, including universal suffrage, under capitalism are considered simply for the purpose of shaking or weakening capitalism.[50] According to revisionism, socialism could, and should, be realized by means of piecemeal reforms, political and economic, through universal suffrage, parliamentary activity, and other measures within this very capitalism.[51]

5. Consequently Marxism stands for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a pyramid of councils (Communes or Soviets) of workers' representatives,[52] and revisionism stands for democracy in the form of a representative government modeled on the parliamentary governments of today but with their defects removed and with desirable features introduced.[53]

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or democratic republic is presumably no longer a class organ as a result of the realization of socialism. In his *Terrorism and Communism* (tr. by W. H. Kerridge, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1920), Kautsky seems to suggest that democracy by itself is even now not an organ of class domination, for he declares: "Democracy, with its universal equal suffrage, does not represent the domination of the bourgeoisie" (p. 231).

[50] Cf. Infra, pp. 81-84.

[51] Cf. Bernstein, op., cit., pp. 145-148; Hillquit, op. cit, pp. 74-75; and Snowden, op. cit., pp. 133-138, 143-153. ".....The task of social democracy is.....to organize the working classes politically and develop them as a democracy and to fight for all reforms in the State which are adapted to raise the working classes and transform the State in the direction of democracy."—Bernstein, op. cit., Preface of 1899, p. xiii. MacDonald, like Bernstein, sees socialism in factory legislation, in public regulation, in municipalization and in public ownership and institution.—See MacDonald, *Socialism and Society,* pp. 131, 161, and *Socialism Critical and Constructive,* p. 68.

Kautsky, speaking of the task of German socialists, declares: "Our present task is not the forcible overthrow of the constitution, but the fullest utilization of the democratic rights that it confers."—*The Labour Revolution,* p. 33.

Vandervelde has tried to differentiate socialism from "statism," but his proposed measure of creating "a State within the State," of forming "a new society in the labour organization itself" (*Socialism vs. the State,* pp. 110-111), although somewhat syndicalistic, is still lawful, gradual and reformistic.

[52] Cf. Infra, Chapter V, Sections 2 and 3.

[53] "Democracy is, at any given time, as much government by the working classes as these are capable of practising according to their intellectual

6. It becomes clear that Marxian socialism, involving a scheme of destruction of the bourgeois State machinery and of establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, can hardly be realized except by revolution, by force,[54] while revisionist socialism, simply embodying piecemeal reforms, rejects revolution (in the sense of an unlawful force, a forcible overthrow) and adapts itself to legal methods.[55] In this sense, Marxism is revolutionary socialism,[56]

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ripeness and the degree of social democracy they have attained."—Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism,* Preface of 1899, pp. xiii-xiv. He has also denounced proletarian dictatorship as "antiquated" and considered the maintenance of that phrase to-day as without "any sense."—Ibid., p. 146. In his "From Marx to Lenin" (Hanford Press, New York, 1922,) Hillquit pleas for "democratic institutions" as against proletarian dictatorship (pp. 132-136) and argues for the parlimentary form of government with such modifications as occupational representation, abolition of the upper house and the veto power, and actual participation of parliament in administration (pp. 77-85). Kautsky maintains that "Socialism without democracy is unthinkable.....No socialism without democracy", and that it is "the necessity for the proletariat to defend democracy with tooth and nail."—See his *Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* pp. 6-8. Yet Kautsky's democracy is but parliamentary democracy, for he holds that parliament "can be replaced by no other institution."—Ibid., p. 26. For his condemnation of proletarian dictatorship, see ibid., Chapter V; *The Labour Revolution,* p. 85; and *Terrorism and Communism,* pp. 229-231.

MacDonald stands for democracy in all his works, particularly in his *Parliament and Revolution,* National Press, London, 1919. In the latter book he objects to proletarian dictatorship (pp. 24-40) and the Soviet form of government (pp. 41-46), and insists upon parliamentary democracy with the suggestion of a second chamber on the basis of industrial representation (pp. 56-68). "In politics," says Snowden, "this movement (socialist) is democracy.....The Socialist movement aims at realizing itself through a political democracy."—*Socialism and Syndicalism,* p. 131. Vandervelde speaks of proletarian dictatorship only as a "hypothesis," as a "primitive and elementary conception" which must be "modified."—*Socialism vs. the State,* pp. 129-130.

For a summary opinion of revisionists on democracy, see the Berne Resolution of the Second International on democracy, adopted in Feb. 1919, and its Geneva Resolution on the political system of socialism, adopted in Aug. 1920 (a part of the Berne Resolution appears in *American Labor Year Book,* 1919-1920, p. 309, Rand School, New York; and the full text of the Geneva Resolution is reproduced in *the Labour International Handbook,* 1921, pp. 188-189).

[54] Cf. Infra, Chapter IV, Section 2.

[55] "... The German Labor Party aims with all lawful means to establish the Free State ..."—"The Gotha Program" (Lassallian), quoted in Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program* (letter to Bracke, 1875), p. 39, tr. by Daniel deLeon, Socialist Labor Party, New York, 1922.

In his *Evolutionary Socialism,* Bernstein has quoted with approval from Swiss, Spanish and English socialists a number of statements advocating

and revisionism is evolutionary socialism.[57]

7. The Marxian theory, although presupposing the existence of a generally developed capitalism, or the maturity of productive forces, for ushering in socialism, does not emphasize specific conditions for the socialist revolution which, according to Marx, may be hastened or retarded by accidents.[58] Or, at least, whenever

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the legal method (p. 164); maintained that constitutional legislation is "stronger than the revolutionary scheme" and "best adapted to positive social-political work" (p. 218); recognized that the liberal organizations of modern society are "capable of change and development" and need to be "further developed" (p. 163); contended that to-day "the appeal to a revolution by force becomes a meaningless phrase" (p, 218); and consequently regarded the Marxian phrase, conquest of democracy, as the "extension of the political and economic rights" (Preface of 1899, p. xvi) or the "formation of political and social organs of the democracy" (p. 163).

As far back as 1893 and 1900, Kautsky advocated the legal method (see the quotations from his own writings in his *Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* pp. 35-38). In 1909, although wavering between revolution and legality, he favored the peaceful method.—See his *Road to Power,* Chapter V (entitled "Neither Revolution Nor Legality at Any Price"). At the end of 1924 Kautsky went so far as to declare that the peaceful, legal method is a characteristic of the coming "labour" (socialist) revolution, as distinguished from all previous "middle-class" revlutions which were accomplished by violent methods.—Cf. his *Labour Revolution,* Chapter II, particularly pp. 29, 43-44, 47. According to Kautsky's logic, then, the Russian Bolshevist Revolution, because it is "rich in dramatic episodes," is "actually a middle class revolution, in spite of the intentions of its leading personalities."—Ibid., p. 29.

MacDonald and Snowden also argue for the parlimentary method, for the "gradual transformation" of capitalism into socialism, as against the revolutionary method. —See MacDonald, *Parliament and Revolution,* pp. 85-96, and *Socialism and Society,* pp. 123-132; and Snowden, op. cit. pp. 78, 133. Hillquit takes a similar point of view, but he admits that "Marx and Engels have...envisaged the social revolution as a violent struggle," although attributing the emphasis upon violence to modern communists. —See *From Marx to Lenin,* pp. 94-96. Only Vandervelde on this point, as on any other, is less clear and more eclectic than other revisionists. At the same time he admits that the conquest of political power may be the result of a revolutionary act, he emphasizes the union activity and parliamentary methods. —See *Socialism vs. the State,* pp. 46, 60 and Chapter III.

[56] It should be noted here that Marxian socialism is also based on evolution, but the Marxian theory of evolution implies a theory of revolution. —Cf. infra, Chapter II, Section 3.

[57] Bernstein has even avoided the word "revolution" and used "social reorganization" for the change in social order. —Cf. *Evolutionary Socialism,* p. 101, n. MacDonald and Vandervelde speak of this change as "transformation." —Cf. MacDonald, *Socialism and Society,* p. 186, and Vandervelde, *Socialism vs. the State,* pp. 55, 143.

[58] Cf. infra, Chapter IV, Section 1, and Chapter VIII, Sec. 1.

and wherever such a revolution took place, Marx would, as in the case of the Paris Commune, defend it, applaud it, instead of condemning it.[59] On the contrary, the revisionist theory always insists that in addition to a generally developed capitalism, certain specific preliminary conditions, such as a highly developed and numerous proletariat, a democratic State, a majority with developed managing ability or one converted to socialism, *etc.*, must be ripe before a social "transformation" or "reorganization" can take place.[60] If a socialist revolution broke out under "immature" conditions, revisionists would, as in the case of the Russian November Revolution, condemn it.[61] This difference is the logical consequence of the two different methods: revolutionary and evolutionary; for a revolution can be the "locomotive of history",[62] while the attainment of socialism by the evolutionary method must wait until all conditions are ripe, although this does not necessarily involve passivity on the part of evolutionary socialists.[63]

8. In the Marxian scheme the socialist State is the proletarian State, still a class State, whose government is nothing but a proletarian dictatorship, and there is no such thing as the classless State for by definition it will be a non-State.[64] In the revisionist scheme the socialist State is a classless State, a democracy, a "Democratic Republic," a "Labor State," an "Industrial State," or a "Free State", and there is no such thing as the proletarian State.[65]

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[59] Cf. infra, Chapter V, Section 2.

[60] Cf. Bernstein, op. cit., pp. 95-109; Hillquit, *From Marx to Lenin,* p. 18; Kautsky, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* pp. 12-15, *Terrorism and Communism,* pp. 164-165, and *The Labour Revolution,* pp. 22-23; and Vandervelde, op. cit., pp. 58, 124-125, 129.

[61] In all their books thus far quoted, as well as in those hitherto not cited, there can be found revisionists' condemnation of Soviet Russia or Bolshevism whenever they make any reference to it.

[62] Cf. infra, p. 36.

[63] Snowden has contended that "socialists do not propose to sit with their arms folded waiting passively for the forces of nature to prepare the new order."—Cf. his *Socialism and Syndicalism,* p. 136.

[64] Cf. infra, Chapter III.

[65] As already noted, Bernstein defines democracy as the "absence of class government." For his objection to the proletarian State, witness the following statement: "Social democracy does not wish to break up this society

9. Marxism goes even to that final stage where the proletarian State will "wither away" and there will be realized the principle: "From each according to his ability and to each according to his needs."[66] Revisionism stops at the stage of democracy, *i. e.*, the State as an organ of management of common interests.[67] Thus, in Marxism there are two phases of socialism: the lower phase which is socialized production under proletarian dictatorship and the higher phase which, as just stated, is but a stateless-communistic society, while in revisionism there is only a single phase of socialism, socialized production under democracy. In Marxism, socialism (in the sense of socialization of the means of production) is hardly possible without a proletarian dictatorship, prob-

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(civic society) and *make all its members proletarians together;* it labours rather incessantly at raising the worker from the social position of a proletarian to that of a citizen, and thus to make citizenship universal. *It does not want to set up a proletarian society instead of a civic society,* but a social order of society instead of a capitalist one."—*Evolutionary Socialism,* pp. 147-148, italics ours.

In his *Road to Power,* Kautsky declares that "the only form of the State in which Socialism can be realized is that of a republic and a thoroughly democratic republic at that" (p 50); and in his *Labour Revolution* he holds that "no other constitution (of the socialist community) is conceivable than that of the democratic Republic" and that "the democratic Republic is the State form for the rule of the workers" (pp. 59, 89). Snowden also considers the socialist State as a democracy, an "intelligent democracy."—Cf. his *Socialism and Syndicalism,* p. 175.

Vandervelde calls his socialist State the "Labor State" which is not an organ of class domination but an organ of management of common interests. —Cf. his *Socialism vs. the State,* pp. 143, 147, 223-224. The socialist State in Daniel De Leon's theory is the "Industrial State" which is also only an organ of administration of industry.—Cf. his *Socialist Reconstruction of Society,* Socialist Labor Party, New York, 1905. The term "Free State", as seen before, is used in the Gotha Program.

[66] Cf. Infra, Chapter VII.

[67] As noted before, according to Bernstein, democracy is the "substance" of socialism, and according to Kautsky, "no socialism without democracy." Kautsky further denies that democracy will wither away, see his *Labour Revolution,* Chapter III, Section (a).

Depicting the socialist society in his *Parliament and Democracy,* (National Labour Press, London, 1920), MacDonald ends with the chapter entitled "Towards Democracy." "The principle of socialism," declares Snowden, "is democracy to be applied all around."—*Socialism and Syndicalism,* p. 138. Vandervelde also insists that in a socialist society "the State, organ of administration, would continue to be the representative of the general interests of the community."—*Socialism vs. the State,* p. 132.

ably with a view to some class struggle resulting from the socialization of production; and the classless State, complete democracy, when reached, as a result of the final extinction of the bourgeoisie under proletarian dictatorship, will wither away. In revisionism, socialism (also in the sense of socialization of the means of production) is unthinkable without democracy, possibly on the basis of the assumption that the bourgeoisie will voluntarily obey the proletarian will and renounce their titles of ownership; and beyond this stage there is no further stage suggested.

10. Finally, Marxism is internationalistic; it declares that "the working men have no country," no fatherland; it conceives the working-class movement as a world movement—it regards the proletarian revolution as a world problem.[68] Revisionism is nationalistic;[69] it declares that the workman "has a fatherland";[70] it looks at the working-class movement as a national movement—it treats the "social revolution" as a national problem.[71] Thus,

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[68] Cf. infra, p. 78.

[69] For Bernstein's nationalism, see his *Evolutionary Socialism,* pp. 169-180. On these pages, Bernstein declares that internationalism should not be adhered to when "really important national interests are at stake" (p. 171); he justifies the leasing of the Kiaochow Bay in China from the standpoint of German "commerce with China" (p. 173); and he endorses the German colonial policy from the standpoint of the doctrine of "white man's burden" which is stated as follows: "The higher civilization ultimately can claim a higher right. Not the conquest, but the cultivation, of the land gives the historical legal title to its use" (pp. 178-179). Thus Bernstein's revisionism is not only nationalistic, but also imperialistic!

Kautsky as a revisionist "definitely abandons the principle of internationalism" and "reaches the conclusion that the International Socialist Movement cannot be expected to maintain its internationalism in times of international conflict, being an organization exclusively adapted to peace."—Walling, op. cit., pp. 222,228.

Philip Scheidmann, the leader of German Social Democrats, declared in 1914: "We Social Democrats have not ceased to be Germans because we have joined the Socialist International!"—quoted in Walling, op. cit., p. 240.

[70] Bernstein, op. cit., p. 170.

[71] "The working class strives for its emancipation next of all within the confines of the present-day national State....."—"The Gotha Program", quoted in Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program,* p. 36. The insistence of revisionists upon certain specific conditions for the "social revolution" or "transformation" without taking into consideration the world-wide character of capitalism (world imperialism) also shows that they regard such a revolution merely as a national problem.

when the Great War broke out in 1914, all revisionist socialists voted for the war budgets of their respective countries and declared for the defence of their "national existence", of their "fatherland";[72] but those socialists who persistently adhered to Marxism opposed the war from beginning to end and tried to launch the class war against their respective governments.[73] In other words, the Great War served as a good test as to who are nationalistic revisionists and who are internationalistic Marxists.

In short, revisionism differs from Marxism in the underlying philosophies, in the conceptions of the State, in the methods and tactics, and even in the perspectives of future society. According to Marxism, there is no solution to the problem of the establishment of socialism except destruction of the existing social conditions which are characterized as "bourgeois", and therefore every-

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[72] The Belgian socialists including Vandervelde, the British socialists including H. M. Hyndman (a British "Marxist"), the French socialists including Jules Guesde ("one of the world's leading Marxists" as Walling calls him), and the Russian labor group including Kerensky and socialists including Plechanoff (another "leading Marxist") all supported the war.— Cf. Walling, op. cit., pp. 181-184, 161-167, 323-326, 175-180, 191-192 and 358.

In Germany almost all Social Democrats voted for the first war budget (cf. Walling, op. cit., pp. 143-144). Kautsky found the justification of the war in "prevention of invasion," and Bernstein found it in "military necessity" (cf. Walling op. cit., pp. 222-234). At last, they two joined hands in "forming a middle group," the policy of which was "to continue to support the government on the whole, while opposing it in important particulars" (cf. Walling, op. cit., pp. 218-219). Although this group, which later became the "Independent Social Democratic Party," did not approve the subsequent war loans and even voted against the fourth budget (cf. *American Labor Year Book,* 1917-18, p. 247), its deision was made not upon any opposition to the war itself, but, to use Kautsky's expression, "upon the grant by the government of guarantees as to the aims according to which the war was to be conducted" (quoted in Walling, op. cit., p. 233). Not only Vandervelde and Guesde accepted cabinet positions in their respective governments (cf. Walling, op. cit., pp. 182, 179), but also the German "Independents"(such as Richard Barth, Wilhelm Dittmann and Hugo Haase) joined the coalition government after the abdiction of the Kaiser in 1918 (cf. *American Labor Year Book,* 1919-20, p. 348).

[73] For instance, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring in Germany consistently opposed the war and were put in jail during the war. —Cf. Walling, op. cit., pp. 285-289; *American Labor Year Book,* 1916, p. 184; and *American Labor Year Book,* 1917-18, pp. 247-248. And the Zimmerwald Manifesto of 1915, which expressed the Marxian socialists' view, declared in favor of a revolutionary war against the governments of their respective countries.— Cf. Laidler, *Socialism in Thought and in Action,* p. 285.

thing under the existing system, including the State, is bourgeois and must be destroyed before the advent of socialism. According to revisionism, there is, in the existing society, every chance for improvement, for the gradual transformation of capitalism into socialism, and therefore only the bad things of the present society should be removed, while its good features, including democracy, should be preserved and extended. In view of these sharp differences between Marxism and revisionism, it will be logical to exclude revisionism from our discussion in the following pages.

CHAPTER II.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND

1. Development of Historical Materialism

The philosophy upon which the Marxian theory of the State is built is the materialist conception of history, or historical materialism.[1] It seems fit, at the outset, to make a review of this philosophy, beginning with a sketch of its development.

Although Karl Marx began to formulate his theory of historical materialism about 1843-44[2] and fully worked it out in the spring of 1845[3], we find only incidental allusions to it in his published writings before 1847.[4] It is in his *Misère de la Philosophie*

[1] Friedrich Engels, the collaborator and literary executor of Marx, once used the term historical materialism in 1892, see his *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* (first published in French in 1880), Introduction of 1892, p. 13, tr. by Edward Aveling, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1902. Since then, a number of books have been published under the title Historical Materialism, such as L. Woltmann's *Der historische Materialismus* (Dusseldorf, 1900), N. Bukharin's *Historical Materialism* (translated and published by International Publishers, New York, 1925), *etc.* Therefore, "the materialist conception or interpretation of history" and "historical materialism" will be used interchangeably in this book.

[2] In 1843 Marx went to Paris where he soon edited, jointly with Arnold Ruge, a periodical called the *Deutsch-Franzosische Jahrbücher.* Only one double number of this journal appeared in 1844 which contains Marx's two articles, "A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right" and "The Jewish Question." It is in these articles that we find the germs of historical materialism. They both are reproduced in Marx, *Selected Essays,* tr. by H. J. Stenning, Leonard Parsons, London, 1926.

[3] Notice the following statement of Engels: "When I again met Marx at Brussels, in spring, 1845, he had it (historical materialism) ready worked out, and put it before me, in terms as clear as those in which I have stated it here."—Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (first published in German in London, 1848), Engels's Preface of 1880 (originally written in English), p. 8, translated by Samuel Moore and edited and annotated by Engels, Charles H. Kerr and Co., 1915. In accordance with the common usage, we shall, hereafter, refer to this famous document simply as "The Communist Manifesto."

[4] For example, we may cite the following works: Marx and Engels, *Die Heilige Familie, Gegen Bruno Bauer und Consorten,* 1845, in *Aus dem liter-*

(originally written in French) of 1847 that there appears for the first time a clear formulation of the new philosophy. Therein Marx states:

"The social relations are intimately attached to the productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production, and in changing their mode of production, their manner of gaining a living, they change all their social relations. *The windmill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist.*

"The same men who established social relations conformably with their material productivity, produce also the principles, the ideas, the categories, conformably with their social relations.

"Thus these ideas, these categories, are not more eternal than the relations which they express. They are *historical and transitory products.*"[5]

In *the Communist Manifesto,* written at the end of 1847, the whole of human history is depicted in the language of historical materialism. There occur in this document such phrases as "the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production", and such questions as "Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the condition of his material existence, in his social relations and his social life?" and "What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes in character in proportion as material production is changed?"[6]

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arischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels (written in 1841-1850), Vol. II, edited by Franz Mehring, Stuttgart, 1902, 3 vols.; Marx, "on Feuerbach" (annotations), 1845, reproduced as an appendix in Engels, *Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy,* tr. by Austin Lewis, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1903; and Marx's articles first published anonymously in the *Westfälischer Dampfboot* (a monthly review edited by Otto Luning) about 1845 and reprinted in substance in *Die Neue Zeit* (the official weekly of the German Social Democratic Party), XIV (1896), 41-46, under the title of "Zwei bisher unbekannte Aufsätze von Karl Marx aus den vierziger Jahren, Ein Beitrag Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus."

[5] Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 119, tr. by H. Quelch, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago (undated). The italics in the first paragraph are ours and those in the third are Marx's.

[6] *The Communist Manifesto,* pp. 36, 39.

On February 9, 1849, when Marx, charged with having excited the people to sedition, was put on trial before the Cologne jury, he explained, in his speech of defence, the relation of law to society in terms of the materialist conception:

"Society does not rest upon law. This is a juridical fiction. Just the reverse is the truth. Law rests upon society, it must be the expression of the general interests that spring from the material production of a given society against the arbitrariness of any single individual.

"Here, the code of laws, which I hold in my hands, has not created modern civil society. It just happened the other way. The civil society that arose in the eighteenth and developed in the nineteenth century found its legal expression in the code. As soon as it ceases to correspond with the social conditions, the code will be as effete as waste-paper."[7]

In his *Wage-Labor and Capital,* published in April, 1849, Marx expressed his views more fully:

"These social relations upon which the producers mutually enter, the terms upon which they exchange their energies and take their share in the collective act of production, will of course differ according to the character of the means of production.....

"Thus with an alteration and development of the material means of production, that is, powers of production, there will also take place a transformation of the social relations within which individuals produce, that is, of the social relations of production. The relations of production collectively form those social relations which we call a society, and a society with a definite degree of historical development, a society with an appropriate and distinctive character. Ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois society, are instances of these sums-total of the relations of production, each of which also marks out an important step in the historical development of mankind."[8]

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[7] Marx's Speech of Defence Before the Cologne Jury, 1849, in Max Beer, "Further Selections From the Literary Remains of Karl Mark," *the Labour Monthly,* Vol. V, 1923, p. 175. It is taken from *Karl Marx vor den Kölner Geschworenen,* Hottingen, Zurich, 1886.

[8] Marx, "Wage-Labor and Caital," in *The Essentials of Marx,* pp. 93-94, edited by Algernon Lee, Vanguard Press, New York, 1926. It first appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (a politico-economic review, edited by Marx himself), beginning April 4, 1849, and was later printed in pamphlet form. The English translation of the pamphlet, done by J. L. Joynes,

But it was not until 1859 when he wrote the Preface to his *Critique of Political Economy* that Marx made a systematic statement of his historical materialism. The celebrated statement which includes such important concepts as those of revolution and human will needs to be reproduced in full:

"I was led by my studies to the conclusion that legal relations as well as forms of state could neither be understood by themselves, nor explained by the so-called general progress of the human mind, but that they are rooted in the material conditions of life, which are summed up by Hegel after the fashion of the English and French of the eighteenth century under the name 'civic society'; the anatomy of that civic society is to be sought in political economy. The study of the latter which I had taken up in Paris, I continued at Brussels whither I emigrated on account of an order of expulsion issued by Mr. Guizot. The general conclusion at which I arrived and which, once reached, continued to serve as the leading thread in my studies, may be briefly summed up as follows: In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and *independent of their will;* these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. *It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.* At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations

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was published in London in 1897 and afterwards reprinted by Charles H. Kerr and Co. in Chicago. It is also reproduced in Lee's collection of Marx's essays.

The English translation is based upon Engels's edition of 1891. In this edition Engels made only one change—the changing of "the selling of labor" into "the selling of labor power" (cf. Engels's Introduction). Therefore we are not wrong in taking the above citations as Marx's expressions of 1849, especially in view of his previous formulations of the conception which have already been pointed out.

turn into their fetters. *Then comes the period of social revolution.* With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, *this consciousness must rather be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production.* No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society. Therefore, mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation. In broad outlines we can designate the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal, and the modern bourgeois methods of production as so many epochs in the progress of the economic formation of society. *The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production*—antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from conditions surrounding the life of individuals in society; at the same time the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. *This social formation constitutes, therefore, the closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society."*[9]

To reduce this interpretation of history into simple language: The mode of production[10] determines the social relations of pro-

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[9] Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Author's Preface (January, 1859), pp. 11-13, tr. from Kautsky's edition of 1897 by N. I. Stone, Charles H. Kerr and Co., 1904. Italics ours.

[10] It would be far beyond the scope of the present work to inquire into the exact meaning of the phrase "the mode of production" which Marx had in mind. Its different interpretations given by various authors have been well summarized in Bober, *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History,* Chapters I and II.

duction, that is, the economic relations, which in turn determine the legal, political and all other social relations, together with their underlying ideas and principles. As Engels put it in 1870: "The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life, and next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the *philosophy,* but in the *economics* of each particular epoch."[11]

Such an interpretation of history, which is undoubtedly a monistic one,[12] is the basis of the whole Marxian system.[13] It is this

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[11] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 94, italics his. This little book, already described in regard to its French and English editions, is a part of a larger one entitled *Herr Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* (first edition dated 1878), which, known as *Anti-Dühring,* contains a series of articles written by Engels in 1877-78 during his controversy with Dühring and published in the *Vorwaerts* (the official daily organ of the German Social Democratic Party). The English edition of *Anti-Dühring* is called "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism" (tr. by Austin Lewis, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1907), in which there are omitted the first and second chapters of Part III because these chapters appear in *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.* As a matter of fact, Introduction II to *Anti-Dühring appears in both.* Only in the smaller one it is split into two chapters.

[12] Antonio Labriola calls this monistic conception the "unitary theory," see his *Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History* (first published in 1896), pp. 140, 151, tr. by Charles H. Kerr, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1908. A. S. Sachs regards historical materialism as monistic materialism applied to the interpretation of history, see his *Basic Principles of Scientific Socialism,* p. 55, Rand School of Social Science, New York, 1925. Bober also remarks that Marx sets forth the mode of production as "the monistic agency in the course of human affairs," see his *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History,* p. 322.

[13] The fact that after 1844 Marx constantly applied historical materialism to the interpretation of various problems is shown in all his writings published after that year.

philosophy of history, together with the surplus value theory, that makes Marxian socialism "scientific", makes socialism a "science".[14]

2. Materialism and Dialectics

In the foregoing sketch of the Marxian philosophy we have only stated the doctrine of historical materialism, but have not analyzed it into its elements. In order to find out its connection with previous philosophies and to explain the Marxian theory of revolution and of class struggle, such an analysis, including a statement of Hegel's dialetic formula, seems necessary.

It is well known that historical materialism consists of two elements: materialism and dialectics,[15] both of which had long existed before Marx formulated his philosophy. Materialism, originally a philosophy of nature, may be traced back to such English philosophers as Bacon, Hobbes and Locke, and was further extended in application by French philosophers of the eighteenth century such as Diderot, Helvetius, d'Almbert and Holbach.[16] Dialetics, a method of viewing or contemplating things, may also be traced back as far as the Greek philosopher Heraclitus, and was systematically formulated by the great German philosopher Hegel.[17]

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[14] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 93.

[15] Cf. L. B. Boudin, *The Theoretical System of Karl Marx,* p. 21, Charles Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1907.

[16] Cf. Marx's discussion of French materailism and its English origin in *Die Heilige Familie,* in *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels.* The substance of this essay is reproduced in English in Marx, *Selected Essays,* pp. 180-195.

[17] For Hegel's own statement of his dialectics, see his *Science of Logic,* in "The Logic of Hegel," pp. 18, 147-151, tr. by William Wallace, second edition, Oxford University Press, London, 1892; for Marx's explanation of Hegel's dialectics, see his *Poverty of Philosophy,* Chapter II; for Engels's discussion of the subject, see his *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* Chapter VII, and *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* Chapter II; and for a clear and elementary exposition of it, see Max Beer, *The Life and Teaching of Karl Marx* (originally written in German), Introduction, tr. by T. C. Partington and H. J. Stenning, Leonard Parsons, London, 1921, and Sachs, op. cit., Chapter I.

The dialectic method is revealed in all the writings of Marx. In *Das Kapital* (first published in 1867) he admits that his method of presentation is "German dialectical," cf. *Capital,* Vol. I, Preface of 1873, p. 22, tr. by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago,

Materialism, as contrasted with idealism, means that the only world is that which we perceive with our senses and that our ideas are but the reflections of this world. Dialectics, as contrasted with metaphysics,[18] means that nature and society are viewed as being in the midst of a dynamic evolutionary development; it "comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin and ending."[19] If we consider things or ideas in their static, isolated condition, we fall into metaphysics.[20] Then even materialism without dialectics is metaphysical.[21]

Now let us examine Hegel's dialectic formula itself. According to this formula, every phenomenon produces its own contradiction. Hence the thesis and the antithesis. The struggle between the two results in a synthesis. But, as in Hegel's system it is the Absolute Idea, the thought, that moves the world, the contents of these three phases are nothing but ideas. The thesis, the thought, resolves itself into two contradictory ideas, the positive and the negative, the yes and no. "The conflict between the two contradictory elements included in the antithesis creates movement, which Hegel, in order to underline the element of conflict, styles *dialectic*."[22] As Marx himself describes the dialectic movement, the struggle of the two opposing elements, "The yes becoming no, the no becoming yes, the yes becoming at once yes and no, the no becoming at once no and yes, the contraries balance them-

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1906. As to his respect for Hegel, notice the following statement: "I openly avowed myself the pupil of that mighty thinker."—Ibid., p. 25.

[18] Engels calls dialectics and metaphysics two modes of thought, see *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 77.

[19] Ibid., pp. 82-83.

[20] "To the metaphysician, things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation, fixed, rigid, given once for all. He thinks in absolutely irreconciable anthitheses."—Ibid., pp. 79-80. Cf. *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* pp. 150-151.

[21] Engels refers to the materialism of the eighteenth century as "simply metaphysical," see *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 87.

[22] D. Riazanov, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,* p. 54, tr. by J. Kunitz, International Publishers, New York, 1927. It should be noticed in passing that Riazanov as a historian of Marxian literature probably ranks higher even than Franz Mehring.

selves, neutralize themselves, paralyze themselves. The fusion of these two contradictory thoughts constitutes a new thought which is the synthesis of the two. This new thought unfolds itself again in two contradictory thoughts which are confounded in their turn in a new synthesis."[23]

Therefore, in the Hegelian sense, *dialectics* signifies conflict, contradiction, or struggle; it means the process by which every movement, every progress is brought about in the struggle of two opposing ideas or elements. To Marx, this formula is correct for it conceives human history as a process of evolution, but the content filled up by Hegel, the Idea, the Thought, the Reason, is wrong, for the conception of the evolution of the Absolute Idea or *Geist* is "mystical".[24] Thus, dialetics with idealism is mystical, while materialism without dialectics is metaphysical. When dialectics is combined with materialism, the mode of production, instead of the Absolute Idea, becomes, as seen before, the prime mover of history. It is exactly this combination that reveals Marx's originality,[25] that constitutes his discovery of the law of social evolution, or "the law of evolution in human history",

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[23] Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 117.

[24] Cf. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. 1, Preface II, pp. 25-26, and *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 118; and Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* Preface II, p. 31, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* pp. 86-87, and *Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy,* pp. 44-46.

Dialectic idealism is really metaphysical, in the popular sense that some abstract idea or spirit exists above the physical world. But Marx and Engels, following Hegel, restrict the word "metaphysical" only as the antithesis to the word "dialectic" and they, therefore, in criticising Hegel, use the word "mystical."

[25] Boudin refers to the "Marxian science" as "the new combination and the method of application," see his *Theoretical System of Karl Marx,* p. 21. Witness the following remarks of Engels: "Marx and I were probably the first to impart the well known dialectic of the German idealistic philosophy into the materialistic view of nature and history."—See *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* Preface II, p. 30. As to the history of the "importing" of dialectics into materialism, see Engels, *Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy,* especially Part IV.

Because of the element of dialectics, historical materialism is also known as "dialectic materialism." Engels once declares: "modern materialism is essentially dialectic."—See *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 88. The term dialectic materialism is used by Lenin in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (tr. by David Kvitko, International Publishers, New York, 1927) and by Bukharin in his *Historical Materialism.*

which is comparable to Darwin's discovery of the law of organic evolution, or "the law of evolution in organic nature".[26]

The dialectic element of this law of social evolution is significant, because it is simply by a dialectic process that the abolition of private property and classes, *i. e.*, the realization of socialism (preferably communism according to Marx), will have its final fruition. As far back as 1845, Marx took private property as the thesis, the proletariat as the antithesis and the abolition of private property and classes as the synthesis.[27] In his famous law of capitalist accumulation, the thesis is individual private property resting on the labor of its owner; the antithesis, capitalist private property resting on exploitation of the labor of others; and the synthesis, individual private property resting on common ownership of the means of production.[28] When we go back to the earlier stage of primitive communism—when we take the whole of history into account—we have the following Marxian dialectic scheme: Primitive Common Property as the thesis, Private Property as the antithesis and a higher form of Communal Proprietorship as the synthesis.[29] Thus socialism, or communism, is necessarily included in historical materialism; it is simply something that *will* or *must* happen, rather than that which *ought* to happen.[30] For this very reason, historical materialism not only explains the past and the present, but also forecasts the future.[31]

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[26] See Engels's "Speech at Marx's Funeral," in Engels and others, *Karl Marx, Man, Thinker, and Revolutionist* (edited by Riazanov and translated by Eden and Cedar Paul), p. 43, International Publishers, New York, 1927.

[27] Cf. Marx, "On Proudhon," in *Die Heilige Familei,* in *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels,* Vol. II. p. 132; or in English, Marx, *Selected Essays,* pp. 177-178.

[28] Cf. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, pp. 834-837.

[29] Cf. Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* pp. 160-170.

[30] Labriola rightly includes socialism in his discussion of historical materialism, cf. his *Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History,* pp. 190-191, 244-246. Seligman is hardly correct when he asserts that Marx's "socialism and his philosophy are.....really independent."—Cf. his *Economic Interpretation of History,* p. 24.

[31] Labriola also remarks that scientific socialism affirms the coming of communism as "the result of the *processus* immanent in history."—*Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History,* p. 190.

3. Revolution and Human Will

From the law of social evolution, the materialist interpretation of history, is derived the Marxian theory of revolution. The dialectic formula is "in its essence critical and revolutionary", because "it includes in its comprehension and affirmative recognition of the existing state of things, at the same time also, the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up".[32] In other words, either the first negation (antithesis) or the second negation (synthesis) is itself a revolution.

In the passage quoted from Marx's Preface to *the Critique of Political Economy,* it is indicated that a social revolution arises whenever the material forces of production come into conflict with the existing relations of production. If we recall the statement, cited before, that "the windmill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist", these relations of production are nothing but class relations. And as every social movement does not exclude the political movement,[33] a social revolution does not exclude a political revolution but will necessarily involve it so long as class antagonism exists. *"Social evolutions* will cease to be *political revolutions",* only when "there will be no longer classes or class antagonism".[34] For class struggles will continue until classes are abolished,[35] and "every class struggle is a political struggle"[36] or *vice versa.*[37] Such a struggle, "carried to its highest expression, is a complete revolution."[38]

In passing, it should be noticed that, in the Marxian system, revolution, social or political, will cease after the establishment of communism. Social revolution means the fundamental

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[32] Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, Preface II, p. 26. Engels also holds that the dialectic method itself is revolutionary, cf. his *Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy,* pp. 41, 94.

[33] Cf. Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 190.

[34] Ibid., p. 190; Italics Marx's.

[35] Cf. the next section on class struggle.

[36] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 25; cf. *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 189.

[37] ".....all political contests are class contests....."—Engels, *Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy,* p. 112.

[38] Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 190.

change in the economic system with its resultant change in other phases of social life.[39] For instance, the change from feudalism to capitalism is a social revolution and the predicted change from capitalism to communism will be also a social revolution. Such social revolutions, as noted above, necessarily involve political revolutions. But when communism is reached, it is presumed to last forever. That is to say, there will be no more social revolutions and consequently no more political revolutions. What will continue is simply social evolutions. This is why "social evolutions will cease to be political revolutions", and also why human history before the advent of communism is termed "the prehistoric stage of human society."[40]

In the foregoing analysis it is implied that revolutions are a necessary part of the evolutionary process and therefore "inevitable".[41] So "revolutions are not made by laws"[42] and not created by "the ill will of a few agitators", but brought about by the suppression of social wants by "outworn institutions".[43] However, it must not be supposed that a revolution comes about entirely automatically. According to Marx, man must play his part to hasten it when its material conditions are generally ripe. "Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand."[44] This is how Marx treats of the active, volitional element in his philosophy and why

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[39] This is seen in Marx's Preface to *the Critique of Political Economy* and in his other writings, as well as in the utterances of Engels.

[40] Cf. supra p. 28.

[41] As already noted, Marx regards the negation of the existing state of things as the "inevitable breaking up" of that state. In *the Communist Manifesto,* it is declared that the fall of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are "equally inevitable" (p. 29). In short, the word "inevitable" is frequently met in Marxian literature.

[42] Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, p. 823.

[43] Cf. Marx, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (or *Germany in 1848,* first published in *the New York Tribune* in 1851-52), p. 14, edited by Eleanor Marx Aveling (in 1896), Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1919.

[44] Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (first published in the periodical *Die Revolution,* edited by Joseph Weydemeyer, New York, 1852), p. 9, tr. by Daniel De Leon, 3rd edition, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1913.

he regards the proletarian movement as a "self-conscious, independent movement".[45] It is because of this active element that the purpose of Marxian philosophy is not only to interpret the world, but also to change it.[46] "Circumstances may be altered by men"[47] and "revolutions are the locomotives of history."[48]

Such is the recognition by Marx of the importance of volition, or human will, especially in respect to its rôle in revolutions. But is this recognition compatible with the idea that the relations of production into which men enter, as we have seen, are "independent of their will"? It is true that according to Marx the relations of production are determined by the mode of production and therefore independent of human will, but Marx has also pointed out that man's consciousness of a revolution arises "from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production" and that the solution of problems on the part of mankind is dependent upon the existing material conditions.[49] In other words, the ultimate cause of a revolution is the conflict between forces of production and relations of production, a conflict which is outside of human will.[50] Once this conflict emerges, however, it creates man's consciousness of it and thereby the will to revolt, to fight for a new social order. The will is simply the immediate cause of revolution. Yet what the will can accomplish is limited by the existing material conditions—in a word, these conditions shape and determine the will.

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[45] Cf. *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 28.

[46] "Philosophers have only interpreted the world differently, but the point is to change it."—Marx, "On Feuerbach," in Engels, *Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy,* p. 133.

[47] Ibid., p. 130.

[48] Marx, *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich* (1848-50), p. 90, Berlin, 1895; in English, *Class Struggles in France,* p. 165, tr. by Henry Kuhn, Labor News Co., New York, 1924. This book contains a series of essays written by Marx in 1850 and first published in the *Neue Rheinische Revue* which he founded in London.

[49] Cf. supra p. 28. Be it noticed here that according to Marx the material conditions for the proletarian revolution have been, or at least are being, created by capitalism, cf. infra, Chapter IV, Sec. 1.

[50] It should be recalled that in the words of Engels, "the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains.....but in changes in the modes of production and exchange."—Cf. supra p. 29.

It is from the standpoint of its ultimate cause that a revolution is inevitable and it is from the standpoint of its immediate cause that a revolution is volitional. Human will plays its rôle in history only by availing itself of the right moment, but the methods of production or productive forces constitute the prime movers of history in the long run. So man makes his own history not "out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand." In the words of Engels, "man proposes and God (to wit, the outside force of the capitalistic method of production) disposes."[51]

Karl Kautsky, as a theoretical defender of Marxism before the Great War, explained the significance of volition in evolution by distinguishing the concept of will from that of free will. In historical materialism the will is recognized but the free will is denied. "The conditions of life determine the character of its volition, the nature of its acts and their results." So the will is a predetermined *(bestimmtes)* will, not a will existing by itself *(wollen an sich)*.[52] As a matter of fact, the relation between freedom of the will and necessity had long since been pointed out by Hegel and Huxley. In the eyes of Hegel, as stated by Engels, "freedom is the recognition of necessity", for "freedom of the will consists in nothing but the ability to come to a decision when one is in possession of a knowledge of facts."[53] In the language of Huxley, as noticed by Seligman, "half the controversies about the freedom of the will.....rest upon the absurd presumption that the proposition, 'I can do as I like' is contradictory to the doctrine of necessity. The answer is; Nobody doubts that, at any rate within certain limits, you can do as you like. But what determines your likings and dislikings?"[54] So Antonio Labriola, in his discussion of historical materialism, declares that volitions are a result of necessities.[55]

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[51] Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* p. 258.
[52] Cf. Kautsky, *The Road to Power,* Chapter IV.
[53] Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* p. 147.
[54] T. H. Huxley, *Collected Essays* (written in 1866-1891, 9 vols.), Vol. VI, p. 223, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1902; cited in Seligman, *The Economic Interpretation of History,* pp. 91-92.
[55] Labriola, op. cit., p. 207.

4. Class Struggle

We have already noticed that the relations of production are but class relations, and that class antagonism or struggle results in revolutions when productive forces come into conflict with these class relations. We shall proceed to show that the idea of class struggle, like that of revolution, is a corollary, or rather an integral part, of historical materialism.[56]

Again, it is the dialectic formula itself that, as we have seen, contains the idea of the struggle between two opposing elements. *When dialectics is applied to human history, these two opposing elements become two classes.*[57] Thus the opening sentence of Part I of *the Communist Manifesto* declares: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." In his Preface of 1888 to this Manifesto, Engels states the materialist conception of history and its consequent idea of class struggle in the following words:

"The 'Manifesto' being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That proposition is: that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that *consequently the whole history of mankind* (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding in common ownership) *has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes;* that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which, now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its eman-

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[56] Bober has recognized this point, cf. his *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History,* pp. 111-112.

[57] Thorstein Veblen clearly sees this point, for he declares: "In the materialistic conception of history this dialectical movement becomes the class struggle of the Marxian system."—See his "Socialist Economics of Karl Marx and His Followers," I, (first published in *the Quarterly Journal of Economics,* Vol. XX, August 1906), in *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization and Other Essays,* p. 415. Max Beer also rightly mainstains that dialectics is "the soul of the Marxian doctrine of the class struggle, nay, of the whole Marxian system."—See his *Life and Teaching of Karl Marx,* Introduction, p. xx.

cipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without, at the same time, and once for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinctions and class struggles."[58]

In another place, Engels refers to historical materialism as "that view of the course of history, which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, *in the consequent division of society into distinct classes and in the struggles of these classes against one another.*"[59] He further points out that the classes of society, as shown by the examination of all past history, are *"always the products of the modes of production and of exchange"*.[60]

In his biography of Marx, Engels repeats the same idea as follows:

"Marx has shown that all history down to the present day has been the history of class struggles; that in all the manifold and complicated political struggles, what is really at issue is nothing more or less than the social and political dominion of social classes—the struggle of an old-established class to maintain power, and the struggle of a subordinate class to rise to power. But how do these classes originate, and upon what does their existence depend? *Classes arise out of, and their existence depends upon, the material conditions under which society at any given time produces and exchanges the means of life.*"[61]

Speaking of the classes of present society, Engels again describes how the mode of production has given rise to these classes in the following unmistakable language: "The bourgeoisie and the proletariat both arose as results of a change in economic conditions, or, strictly speaking, in methods of production. The transition, first from hand labor, controlled by the guilds, to manufacture and thence from manufacture to the greater industry, with

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[58] *The Communist Manifesto,* Preface, pp. 7-8, italics ours.

[59] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 23; italics ours.

[60] Ibid., p. 90; italics ours.

[61] In Engels and others, op. cit., p. 28; italics ours. According to Riazanov, the editor of this collection of essays, Engels's biography of Marx was written a few years before Marx's death (cf. his Introduction).

steam and machine force, has developed these two classes."[62]

Thus far, we have simply reviewed the Marxian proposition that the existence of classes and their struggles in a given epoch are brought about by the mode of production of that epoch, and that the relations of production are nothing but class struggles. But how does the mode of production give rise to classes and class struggles? How could it happen that "the windmill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist"? The question is one of property ownership, particularly ownership of the means of production. "In the work of production men do not stand in relation to nature alone, but also to each other."[63] "They enter into definite relations" and these relations of production are, in their legal expression, the relations of property.[64] Those who own the means of production constitute one class and those who do not own them constitute another. In the stage of the windmill, the owners of land, then the chief means of production, were feudal lords and the non-owners were serfs. In the stage of the steam-mill, the owners of machinery, the new means of production, are industrial capitalists and the non-owners are wage-laborers, industrial proletarians. *"Capitalism presupposes wage-labor and wage-labor presupposes capital."*[65] So modern society is splitting up into two great camps or classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat.[66]

Property relations have developed not only classes but also "those class antagonisms and class struggles that make up the contents of all written history up to the present time."[67] Classes are

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[62] Engels, *Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy*, p. 110.

[63] Marx, "Wage-Labor and Capital," in *The Essentials of Marx*, p. 93.

[64] Cf. supra p. 27. Notice the following statement: "To define bourgeois property is nothing other than to explain all the social relations of bourgeois production."—Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy*, p. 168. In another connection Marx again states that the relations of property are in their real form the relations of production.—Ibid., Appendix I, on Proudhon (written in 1865), p. 195.

[65] Marx, "Wage-Labor and Capital," in *The Essentials of Marx*, p. 96; italics Marx's.

[66] Cf. *the Communist Manifesto*, p. 13.

[67] Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (first published in 1884 and its last edition dated 1891), p. 10, tr. by E. Untermann, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1902.

antagonistic because their interests are antagonistic. Class struggles are "based upon economic interests."[68] "So long as the relation of wage-labor to capital is permitted to exist,.....there will always be a class which exploits and a class which is exploited."[69]

Since the classes and their struggles are brought about by property relations, the problem of class struggle can be solved once for all only by abolishing these relations, by abolishing property itself. This is why the theory of communism is "summed up in the single sentence, abolition of private property."[70] Here again we have seen that socialism, or communism, is included in historical materialism as a part of the theory of class struggle, as the solution of the problem of class struggle.

In short, the mode of production determines the relations of property which are in their real form the relations of production, and these relations of property at once create classes, owners and non-owners, exploiters and exploited, and further create class antagonisms and class struggles. "No antagonism, no progress. That is the law which civilization has followed down to our day."[71] *Thus the materialist interpretation of history resolves itself into a class-struggle conception of history.* Only socialism, or communism, will end this historic era, or rather this "prehistoric" era, of class struggles by abolition of private property and thereby of classes themselves.

5. Historical Materialism vs. "the Economic Interpretation of History"

From the above analysis, we arrive at the following conclusions: Historical materialism regards the mode of production as the prime mover of history; it emphasizes the three-phase dialectics; it includes a theory of revolution; it recognizes the rôle of will

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[68] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 90.

[69] Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* Appendix III, Free Trade (a speech given in 1848), p. 224.

[70] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 31.

[71] Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 66.

but denies a completely free will; it embodies a theory of class struggle; and, above all, it has an ultimate aim, the realization of socialism, or communism. Yet this conception of history is commonly but erroneously identified with what Bernstein and Seligman call "the economic interpretation of history."[72] We do not deny that historical materialism is *an* economic interpretation of history since the mode of production is an economic factor, but we deny that it is the economic interpretation of history as stated by Bernstein and Seligman. In order to make our point clear, we shall close this chapter by contrasting historical materialism with the economic interpretation of history.

First, the materialist interpretation of history is monistic, while the economic interpretation of history is pluralistic. For the purpose of finding a Marxian basis for their own theory, both Bernstein and Seligman have tried first to make the Marxian theory pluralistic by citing Engels's later statements from his few published letters of 1890-1895,[73] for it has been alleged that Engels adopted the pluralistic conception in these letters. To show the invalidity of this allegation, let us digress a little before we come to other differences.

It is true that in his late letters Engels admitted other factors than the economic which are also active agents in history. Yet

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[72] For instance, Laidler has entirely identified historical materialism with Seligman's economic interpretation of history, cf. his *Socialism in Thought and in Action,* pp. 60-63, and *History of Socialist Thought,* Chapter XVI. Simkhovitch also misuses "the economic interpretation of history" to designate the Marxian conception of history, cf. his *Marxism vs. Socialism,* Chapter III.

Bernstein is probably the first one to formulate the pluralistic economic interpretation of history (cf. his *Evolutionary Socialism,* pp. 6-18), for his book was first published in 1899 and Seligman's work first appeared in the form of articles only in 1901-1902 (in *Political Science Quarterly,* Vols. XVI and XVII). So Bober is mistaken when he remarks in reference to historical materialism: "The conception of history is known in the Old World as the materialistic, but in America as the economic interpretation of history."—*Karl Marx's Interpretation of History,* p. 3.

[73] These letters were first published in *Der sozialistische Akademiker,* October 1895; reprinted in Antonio Labriola, *Socialisme et Philosophie,* pp. 241-243, 250-253, 257, 259-260, Paris, 1899, in Woltmann, op. cit., pp. 239-250; and quoted in part in Bernstein, op. cit., pp. 10-11, in Seligman, op. cit., pp. 58-59, 64, 142-143. It should be noted that in the English translation of Labriola's book by Ernest Untermann (*Socialism and Philosophy,* Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1906), we do not find Engels's letters.

in these same letters Engels did not hesitate to maintain that other factors are active agents only in the sense of their *"mutual action on the basis of the economic necessity"*;[74] that the economic factor, the mode of production, is *"in last instance decisive in history"*;[75] and that "the political, legal, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic evolution *rests on the economic evolution.*"[76] From these statements we do not find any change in the monistic character of historical materialism.

In his somewhat neglected article, "Bernstein vs. 'Old-School' Marxism,"[77] G. A. Kleene rightly holds that "Engels, while admitting the economic factor is only the final cause, did not intend to represent it as one of several co-ordinate causes, nor to deny necessity in the action of forces other than the economic"; that "the fundamental issue between mental and economic forces, in the Marxian view of history, is not their relative weight as immediate causes of historical events, but the question of priority in the evolution of life"; and that "in philosophy Bernstein is clearly not a disciple of Marx." In his recent work on historical materialism, M. M. Bober also finds that in the different statements of their theory Marx and Engels point to only one factor as governing the destinies of man, *i. e.*, production; that other factors, although not passive, "do not act autonomously" but "merely carry out the mandates of production"; and that the case is not different in the late letters of Engels.[78]

The findings of both Kleene and Bober serve to strengthen our contention that historical materialism is monistic, even taking into consideration Engels's late letters. On the other hand, according to the economic interpretation of history, "the point of economic development attained today leaves the ideological, and especially the ethical, factors greater space for independent activity than

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[74] Tr. in Seligman, op. cit., p. 64; italics ours.

[75] Ibid., p. 142; italics ours.

[76] In Bernstein, op. cit., p. II; italics ours.

[77] In *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 301-419, 1901. The following citations all appear on p. 403.

[78] Cf. Bober, op. cit., pp. 269-274.

was formerly the case";[79] the economic relations only "exert a preponderant influence in shaping the progress of society";[80] and it admits "an ethical, an aesthetic, a political, a jural, a linguistic, a religious and a scientific interpretation of history."[81] Is all this not pluralistic? As a matter of fact, Seligman definitely declares: "No monistic interpretation of humanity is possible."[82]

Secondly, historical materialism means not only that the mode of production is the final cause of historical development, but also that that movement proceeds *dialectically, i. e.,* in the form of a three-phase dialectics,[83] while the economic interpretation of history, which means only that the economic factor is relatively more important than other factors in shaping the progress of society, naturally accepts eclecticism in place of dialectics.[84] In historical materialism dialectics is an addition to the monistic conception, but in the economic interpretation of history electicism is the logical result of the pluralistic conception.

Thirdly, historical materialism comprises a theory of revolution and a theory of class struggle, both of which are absent in the economic interpretation of history.[85] These two theories are the necessary consequences of the Marxian dialectics. It is no wonder that the economic interpretation of history, devoid of such dialectics, is destitute of its consequent ideas of revolution and class struggle.

Fourthly and lastly, historical materialism embodies socialism

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[79] Bernstein, op. cit., p. 15.
[80] Seligman, op. cit., p. 67.
[81] Seligman, op. cit., p. 153.
[82] Seligman, op. cit., p. 159.
[83] Curiously enough, this point, i. e., dialectics as an element of historical materialism, is ignored not only by Bernstein and Seligman but also by a host of other writers such as Sombart, Simkhovitch, etc., although they know perfectly well the connection between Marxism and Hegelian dialectics.
[84] Bernstein regards eclecticism as "the rebellion of sober reason against the tendency inherent in every doctrine to fetter thought."—*Evolutionary Socialism,* p. 14. In both Bernstein's and Seligman's formulation of the economic interpretation of history, dialectics is dropped out, or rather, rejected (for Bernstein's criticism of dialectics, see ibid., pp. 81, 212, 223).
[85] Bernstein's rejection of these two ideas has already been pointed out in our discussion of revisionism, cf. supra pp. 15, 18, notes 46 and 55. It is needless to say that there are no such ideas in Seligman's theory.

as the ultimate goal, while the economic interpretation of history, either rejects any final goal[86] or denies it any connection with socialism.[87] Historical materialism is a philosophy of the past, the present and the future, and thus regards socialism as what *will be* or *must be*. The economic interpretation of history is simply "a theory of what has been", and thus considers socialism as a separate question, as a question of "what ought to be."[88]

Because of the above differences between historical materialism and the economic interpretation of history, we are unable to believe in any identity of the two as is usually assumed. One is distinctly Marxian and the other is categorically non-Marxian.

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[86] Cf. Bernstein, op. cit., Preface of 1899, p. xv and Preface to English Edition (1909), p. xxii. Although he still believes in socialism, Bernstein does not consider his socialism as a part of his economic interpretation of history.

[87] "There is nothing in common between the economic interpretation of history and the doctrine of socialism."—Seligman, op. cit., p. 105.

[88] From Seligman's point of view, "Socialism is a theory of what ought to be; historical materialism (not in the Marxian sense but in Seligman's sense) is a theory of what has been."—Seligman, op. cit., p. 108.

CHAPTER III.

THE CLASS-DOMINATION THEORY OF THE STATE

1. Origin and Nature of the State

Historical materialism, as we have seen, resolves itself into a class-struggle conception of history. It is this conception that leads to the class-domination theory of the State. Let us first take up the question of the origin of the State.

The State, like other superstructures of society, rests upon the economic conditions; the forms of the State and legal relations are "rooted in the material conditions of life."[1] Engels states:—

"The state ... did not exist from all eternity. There have been societies without it, that had no idea of any state or public power. *At a certain stage of economic development, which was of necessity accompanied by a division of society into classes, the state became the inevitable result of this division.*"[2]

This stage of economic development was that of the beginning of private property whose protection gave rise to the State.[3] It is because classes, as shown in the preceding chapter, are brought about by property relations that Engels speaks of the State simply as the result of class divisions. It should be emphasized here that classes are the handmaids of property and that class antagonisms are but conflicts between owners and non-owners. Let us observe Engels's further statement:

"The state, then, is by no means a power forced on society from outside; neither is it the 'realization of the ethical idea,' 'the image and the realization of reason,' as Hegel maintains. It is simply a product of society at a certain stage of evolution. It is the confession that this society has become hopelessly divided against itself, has entangled itself in *irreconcilable*

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[1] Cf. supra p. 27.

[2] Engels, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, p. 211; italics ours.

[3] Ibid., p. 130.

contradictions which it is powerless to banish. In order that these contradictions, these classes with conflicting economic interests, may not annihilate themselves and society in a useless struggle, a power becomes necessary that stands apparently above society and has the function of keeping down the conflicts and maintaining 'order'. And *this power*, the outgrowth of society, but assuming supremacy over it and becoming more and more divorced from it, *is the state.*"[4]

The State is a power that arises as a result of the irreconcilable class conflicts. It is "the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonism."[5] Apparently it "has the function of keeping down the conflicts and maintaining 'order'." Yet its very existence "proves that the class antagonisms are irrevocable", because it "can neither rise nor maintain itself if a reconciliation of classes is possible."[6] Moreover, according to Engels, keeping down class conflicts, as will be shown later, does not mean reconciling class conflicts but oppressing the ruled by the ruling classes.

Thus the very origin of the State is bound up with class antagonisms. It is evident that "society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the State."[7] But the forms of the State rest upon conditions of production, which, as we have seen, determine classes of society.[8] "Every form of production creates its own legal relations, forms of government, etc."[9] "The will of the State, as a whole, is declared...through the domination of this or that class, and in the last instance through the development of the forces of production and the conditions of exchange."[10] The State is therefore "the summarized, reflected form of the economic desires of the class which controls production," and this is true of both the modern epoch and "the earlier epochs of his-

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[4] Ibid., p. 206; italics ours.
[5] Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (written in 1917), p. 5, tr. by the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain and reprinted by the Marxian Educational Society, Detroit (translation undated).
[6] Ibid., p. 7.
[7] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, p. 127.
[8] Cf. supra pp. 39-40.
[9] Marx, *Critique of Political Economy*, Appendix, Marx's unfinished introduction of 1857, p. 273. This introduction was found among the posthumous papers of Marx and first published by Kautsky in the *Neue Zeit*, March 7, 14 and 21, 1903.
[10] Engels, *Feuerbach, the Roots of Socialist Philosophy*, p. 114.

tory."[11] For example, with the beginning of big industry and the consequent rise of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois representative form of government has replaced absolute monarchy.[12] Hence the modern State is "the organization of bourgeois society";[13] its executive is "but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."[14] Bourgeois society, the rule of economic relations, is the deciding element, while the modern State is but the subordinate element.[15] So the forms of the State change in accordance with changes in the mode of production and in the class which controls production.

Since the State originated with the existence of classes, it is nothing but a class organization. "According to Marx", says Lenin, "the State is the organ of class domination, the organ of oppression of one class by another."[16] The State is, declares Engels, "an organization of the particular class which was *pro tempore* the exploiting class."[17] "Political power, properly so-called," teaches Marx, "is merely the organized power of one

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[11] Ibid., p. 113.

[12] Engels, *Principles of Communism* (written in 1847), p. 12, tr. by Max Bedacht, the Daily Worker Publishing Co., Chicago (now New York), 1925 (the Little Red Library No. 3); and Cf. *the Communist Manifesto,* pp. 14-15. "Principles of Communism" was Engels's draft of *the Communist Manifesto* in the form of questions and answers and first published by Bernstein in Berlin in 1914 under the title *Grundsäize des Kommunismus.*

It should be noticed here that it was not until the establishment of the modern representative State that the bourgeoisie obtained its exclusive political sway. Consequently during the various stages of its development the bourgeoisie first served the absolute monarchy, then struggled with it and overthrew it. This is clearly set forth in *the Communist Manifesto,* pp. 14-15, and again emphasized by Marx in his *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 189 (in the latter work Marx reminds us of the distinctions between the "two phases" in the bourgeoisie). Similarly the proletariat which once fought with the bourgeoisie against absolute monarchy is expected to overthrow the bourgeois State (cf. *The Communist Manifesto,* pp. 23-24). It is due to his failure to grasp this point that Bober accuses Marx and Engels of having made contradictory statements (Cf. his *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History,* p. 148).

[13] Marx, *Critique of Political Economy,* Appendix, p. 305.

[14] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 15.

[15] Engels, *Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy,* p. 112.

[16] Lenin, op. cit., p. 7.

[17] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 127.

class for oppressing another";[18] it is "simply the official form of the antagonism (of classes) in civil society."[19] So the State has always been a class organ. In ancient times it is "the State of slave-owning citizens; in the middle ages, the feudal lords; in our own, the bourgeoisie."[20]

In contradiction to gentilism, the State, as pointed out by Engels, has several distinct features. The first one is the organization of inhabitants by territories:

"The state differs from gentilism in that it first divides its members by territories. As we have seen, the old bonds of blood kinship uniting the gentile bodies had become inefficient, because they were dependent on the condition, now no longer a fact, that all gentiles should live on a certain territory. The territory was the same; but the human beings had changed. Hence the division by territories was chosen as the point of departure. . . . It seems natural to us now. But we have seen that what long and hard fighting was required before it could take, in Athens and Rome, the place of the old organization by blood kinship."[21]

The second feature of the State is the creation of a force, a public power of coercion:

"In the second place, the state created a public power of coercion that did no longer coincide with the old self-organized and armed population. This special power of coercion is necessary, because *a self-organized army of the people has become impossible since the division of society into classes took place.* ... This public power of coercion exists in every state. It is not composed of armed men alone, but has also such objects as prisons and correction houses attached to it, that were unknown to gentilism."[22]

This idea of a public power of coercion is significant in the Marxian theory for two reasons. First, the public power of coercion is closely connected with the existence of classes; it is an instrument of the ruling class for it is "divorced from the mass

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[18] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 42.
[19] Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 190.
[20] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 128.
[21] Engels, *Origin of the Family, etc.,* pp. 206-207.
[22] Ibid., p. 207, italics ours. Marx also says: "The government comprises the tools of repression, the organs of authority, the army, the police, the officials, the judges, the Ministers, the priests."—See his *Class Struggles in France,* p. 158.

of the people."[23] Secondly, it constitutes the essence of the State, for "the state presupposes a public power of coercion separated from the aggregate body of its members."[24] It is in this sense that the State and State power are identical. As shown before, Engels once defined the State as a power and Marx used to speak of the State as political power.[25]

Since the public power of coercion consists of armed men, prisons, *etc.*, it is an organized force. The State power (*die Staatsmacht*) is, says Marx, "the concentrated and organized force (*Gewalt*) of society".[26] Engels, on one occasion, even calls the State "a special repressive force."[27] But this force does not remain the same in all periods; it tends to grow as the intensity of class antagonism increases:

> "It may be very small, almost infinitesimal, in societies with feebly developed class antagonisms and in out of the way places, as was once the case in certain regions of the United States. But it increases in the same ratio in which the class antagonisms become more pronounced, and in which neighboring states become larger and more populous. A conspicuous example is modern Europe, where the class struggles and wars of conquest have nursed the public power to such a size that it threatens to swallow the whole society and the state itself."[28]

The increase of the standing army and police, of military and naval armaments, is thus in correspondence to the increasing in-

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[23] Engels, *Origin of the Family, etc.*, p. 142.

[24] Ibid., p. 115-116.

[25] The identity of the State and State power can be further noticed in our subsequent citations from Marx and Engels. Mautner's contention that the State and State power are not synonymous with Marx-Engels (Cf. his *Der Bolschevismus,* the first difference between Marx-Engels and Lenni, p. 212) can hardly be justified. As to another statement of Mautner's (made in connection with his first difference) that Marx considers the State "primarily," but "not solely," as the organ of suppression, we are unable to understand this fine distinction. Our present chapter shows conclusively that according to both Marx and Engels the state is nothing but an organ of suppression.

[26] Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, p. 822. Cf. the German edition, *Das Kapital,* I, p. 716, Hamburg 1902.

[27] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 128. Lenin also says: "The State is a particular form of organization of force, it is the organization of violence for the purpose of holding down some class" Lenin, op. cit., p. 26.

[28] Engels, *Origin of the Family, etc.*, p. 207.

tensity of class struggles and wars of conquest. It is an historical tendency that the State power, the State machinery, has become stronger and stronger. The "predatory" war of 1914-17, says Lenin, "bids fair to bring about the 'swallowing up' of all the forces of Society by the rapacious State power, and leads to a complete catastrophe."[29]

The third feature of the State is its right of levying taxes and contracting public debts. Engels continues:

"In order to maintain this public power, contributions of the citizens become necessary—the taxes. These were absolutely unknown in gentile society. But today we get our full measure of them. As civilization makes further progress, these taxes are no longer sufficient to cover public expenses, the state makes drafts on the future, contracts loans, public debts. Old Europe can tell a story of them."[30]

The fourth feature of the State is the privileged position of the State officials. These officials are raised above society; they become a privileged class:

"In possession of the public power and of the right of taxation, the officials in their capacity as state organs are now exalted above society. The free and voluntary respect that was accorded to the organs of gentilism does not satisfy them any more, even if they might have it. Representatives of a power that is divorced from society, they must enforce respect by exceptional laws that render them specially sacred and inviolable. The lowest police employee of the civilized state has more 'authority' than all the organs of gentilism combined. But the mightiest prince and the greatest statesman or general of civilization may look with envy on the spontaneous and undisputed esteem that was the privilege of the least gentile sachem. The one stands in the middle of society, the other is forced to assume a position outside and above it."[31]

To sum up, the State came into existence when the division of society into classes was brought about by a mode of production based upon private property; it is the product of irreconcilable

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[29] Lenin, op. cit., p. 12.

[30] Engels, *Origin of the Family, etc.*, p. 208. Marx calls the tax "the fifth God, in line with property, the family, order and religion."—See his *Class Struggles in France*, pp. 158, 159.

[31] Engels, *Origin of the Family, etc.*, p. 208.

class antagonisms. The State is therefore a class organization, an organization for oppression of one class by another. It has four special features: the organization of inhabitants by territories, the creation of a public power of coercion, the right of levying taxes and contracting public debts, and the privileged position of the officials, a position above society.

2. Purpose and Function of the State

From the above discussion, it becomes evident that both the purpose and the function of the State are nothing but the oppression of one class by another. The aim of the State, as summed up by Lenin, "is the creation of order which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes."[32] The State is, declares Engels, "an organization for the purpose of preventing any interference from without with the existing conditions of production, and therefore, especially, *for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production* (slavery, serfdom, wage-labor)."[33] In another place, Engels further remarks:

> "The state is the result of the desire to keep down class conflicts. But having arisen amid these conflicts, *it is as a rule the State of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class and thus acquire new means of subduing and exploiting the oppressed masses.* The antique State was, therefore, the State of the slave-owners for the purpose of holding the slaves in check. The feudal State was the organ of the nobility for the oppression of the serfs and dependent farmers. The modern representative state is the tool of the capitalist exploiters of wage labor."[34]

Herein Engels shows how the apparent function of the State in keeping down class conflicts involves simply the oppression and exloitation of the ruled by the ruling classes, and how these classes correspond to the possessing and non-possessing classes. Thus

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[32] Lenin, op. cit., p. 7.

[33] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 127; italics ours.

[34] Engels, *Origin of the Family, etc.,* pp. 208-209; italics ours.

the State, "the aggregation of civilized society", "throughout all typical periods is the state of the ruling class, and in all cases mainly a machine for controlling the oppressed and exploited class",[35] and it is "organized for the protection of the possessing against the non-possessing classes."[36] It has as its "highest purpose" the protection of private property; it is an institution that perpetuates class divisions and "the right of the possessing classes to exploit and rule the non-possessing classes."[37]

It is only in an exceptional case that the State can pose as the mediator between the struggling classes:

"At certain periods it occurs exceptionally that the struggling classes balance each other so nearly that the public power gains a certain degree of independence by posing as the mediator between them.. The absolute monarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth century was in such a position, balancing the nobles and the burghers against one another. So was the Bonapartism of the first, and still more of the second, empire, playing the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and vice versa. The latest performance of this kind, in which ruler and ruled appear equally ridiculous, is the new German empire of Bismarckian make, in which capitalists and laborers are balanced against one another and equally cheated for the benefit of the degenerate Prussian cabbage junkers."[38]

Here the mediation in class conflicts by the State is simply regarded as an exceptional case of the balancing of the struggling classes. Indeed, the idea of managing the common interests of society as a state function exists nowhere in either Marx's or Engels's writings, nay, it is even denounced as an illusion or a superstition.[39] It is true, however, that Engels recognizes the

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[35] Engels, *Origin of the Family, etc.,* pp. 214.
[36] Ibid., p. 209.
[37] Ibid., p. 130.
[38] Ibid., p. 209.
[39] Engels, "Introduction to the third German edition of Marx's Civil War in France", 1891, tr. by A Landy, in *the Communist Monthly,* March 1927, p. 50, New York. This and subsequent references to Engels' Introduction do not appear in the Kerr's edition of the same book, in which the Introduction is abridged. Another translation of the full text of the Introduction, however, can be found in the New York Labor News Company's edition of *the Paris Commune,* 1920; but as it does not seem so fluent as the translation in *the Communist Monthly,* all our subsequent quotations are taken from the latter.

political organization of the old primitive, tribal community as an organ for the protection of common interests.[40] But such an organization is political only in a very broad sense of the term; it is not a State as defined elsewhere by Engels, because class distinctions are absent in the tribal community. It is a "state power in a rudimentary form", it is just "a social state".[41]

But "in proportion as the old tribal communistic society was dissolved and transformed into various grades of private producers," the political organization "became more widely separated from the rest of the community."[42] It began to lose its character as an organ for protection of common interests; it became a State in the proper sense of the word. Now "society becomes divided into upper and lower classes, into plunderers and plundered, into master and servant classes, and *the state* (in the broad sense, including the tribal political organization—S.H.M.C.) which the original groups composed of societies claiming the same ancestry only regarded as a means of protection of the common interests (remnants of which remain in the Orient, *e.g.*) and against foreign force, *takes upon itself the duty of maintaining the economic and political supremacy of the dominant class against the dominated class by means of force.*"[43] This is how the organs of society "had transformed themselves, with time, in the service of their own special interests from the servants of society into lords over the same."[44]

Although the "highest purpose" of the State is the protection of private property, the political recognition of the differences in wealth is not essential. Engels says:

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[40] Cf. ibid., p. 49, and Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* pp. 207, 212.

[41] Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* p. 207.

[42] Ibid., p. 212.

[43] Ibid., p. 178; italics ours.

[44] Engels, "Introduction to Marx's Civil War in France," *The Communist Monthly,* March, 1927, p. 49.

Bober fails to notice the distinction between the political organization of the tribal community and that of the State as made by Engels. Consequently he mistakes Engels's description of the former as that of the latter and accuses Marx and Engels of lapsing to another view of the State—Cf. his *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History,* p. 144.

"On the contrary, it marks a low stage of state development. The highest form of the state, the democratic republic, knows officially nothing of property distinctions. It is that form of the state which under modern conditions of society becomes more and more an unavoidable necessity. ... In such a state, wealth exerts its power indirectly, but all the more safely. This is done partly in the form of direct corruption of officials, after the classical type of the United States, or in the form of an alliance between government and bankers which is established all the more easily when the public debt increases and when corporations concentrate in their hands not only the means of transportation, but also production itself, using the stock exchange as a center. . . . The possessing class rules directly through universal suffrage. For as long as the oppressed class, in this case the proletariat, is not ripe for its economic emancipation, just so long will its majority regard the existing order of society as the only one possible, and form the tail, the extreme left wing, of the capitalist class."[45]

Since in a democratic republic marked by universal suffrage and the absence of official recognition of property distinctions, wealth still exerts its influence indirectly and even safely, it can readily be seen that the function of the State is not a whit changed in the democratic republic. "In reality the State is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy."[46] For instance, in the United States, no dynasty exists, no nobility. "Nevertheless, we have here two great bands of political speculators who alternatively take possession of the state power and exploit with the most corrupt means and for the most corrupt purposes—and the nation is impotent against these two great cartels of politicians who are allegedly in its service, but who, in reality, dominate and plunder it."[47] In short, the republic is but "the true form" of the rule of the bourgeoisie and its "avowed purpose" is to perpetuate the rule of capital and the slavery of labor."[48] All this shows definitely the contempt of the founders of Scientific Socialism for bourgeois

[45] Engels, *Origin of the Family, etc.*, pp. 209-211.

[46] Engels, "Introduction to Marx's Civil War in France," *The Communist Monthly*, March, 1927, p. 50.

[47] Ibid., p. 49.

[48] Marx, *Class Struggles in France*, pp. 85, 70.

democracy, for the democratic republic, which, as noted in our first chapter, is so much emphasized by the revisionists.

Moreover, the repressive functions of the State increase with the progress of industry; the modern State, whether it be a republic or not, is even more repressive than the ancient or the mediaeval State. Marx says:

> At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class antagonism between capital and labor, the State power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labor, *of a public force organized for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism.* After every revolution marking a progressive phase in the class struggle, *the purely repressive character of the State power stands out in bolder and bolder relief.*[49]

As capitalism further develops into State ownership, into State trust-capitalism, the State exploits more people than ever before:

> "The modern State, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. *The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit.* The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with."[50]

Lenin, the Marxist of the twentieth century, writes about the increasing repressive function of the modern State as follows:

> "Imperialism in particular, the era of financial capital, the era of gigantic capitalist monopolies, the era of the transformation of *simple* trust capitalism into *State* trust-capitalism (italics his), shows an unprecedented strengthening of the 'State' and an unheard of development of its bureaucratic and military apparatus, *side by side with the increase of oppression of the proletariat* (italics ours), alike in the Monarchical and the freest republican countries."[51]

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[49] Marx, *Civil War in France,* p. 40, tr. by E. B. Bax, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago (undated); italics ours. This pamphlet, also known as "the Paris Commune," Engels's Introduction to which has already been referred to, was an address delivered at the International Workingmen's Association on March 30, 1871.

[50] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 123; italics ours.

[51] Lenin, op. cit., p. 35.

Thus, State ownership, or State trust-capitalism, which is commonly taken to indicate the increasing economic function of the State, in the eyes of Marxists simply facilitates and increases the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. Engels and Lenin are not unaware of the economic function resulting from State ownership. But as the very State which has taken over certain branches of production is still the bourgeois State, this function does not lose its character of serving the interests of the bourgeoisie. "The capitalist relation is not done away with."

So with other social functions of the State. Engels, as noted before, recognizes the value of the social functions performed by the organs of tribal society. But as soon as the State, the class organization, arises, all its social functions are performed in the interests of the class which controls production. Such being the case, these functions are none other than the oppression of one class by another, and may be given a single name, political, *i. e.*, "repressive" in the Marxian sense. This is the very reason why Marx and Engels repeatedly define the State as an organization for the oppression of one class by another. This is, according to them, the only function of the State, or the sum of all its functions.

To recapitulate: strictly speaking, the purpose of the State is the protection of private property, and the function of the State is the oppression of the non-possessing by the possessing classes. But for the achievement of the purpose, the function is absolutely necessary. Therefore the two may be identified. This is why Marx and Engels often speak of the oppression of one class by another as the purpose of the State. Only exceptionally can the State pose as the mediator between the struggling classes when these classes balance each other. The function of managing the common interests of society was performed only by the organs of the classless tribal community. The State simply serves the interests of the ruling class. This is true of the democratic republic, as well as of the monarchy. Wherever State ownership is practiced in the bourgeois State, it further facilitates the exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. No matter how many dif-

ferent functions are performed by the modern State, their effect is but the oppression of one class by another. From this point of view, there is only one function of the State, namely, political, or repressive.

3. Destiny of the State

We have, thus far, learned that the State, no matter what its form, is in origin and nature, in purpose and function, a class organ, an organization for the oppression of one class by another. As such, the State is simply a "parasite feeding upon, and clogging the free movement of, society."[52] Since Marxism emphasizes the abolition of private property and classes as the solution of the problem of class struggles,[53] such a parasitic institution as the State is doomed to perish. "Socialism putting an end to classes will thereby put an end to the State."[54] Thus the class-domination theory of the State necessarily includes the idea of abolition of the State, which logically leads to the conception of a stateless-communistic society, *in the sense of a free communistic society with no government.* The discussion of this society will be reserved for a later chapter,[55] but the Marxism idea of the abolition of the State must be considered at this point.

In his *Misère de la Philosophie,* Marx declares:

> "The working class will substitute, in the course of its development, for the older order of civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and *there will no longer be political power,* properly speaking, since political power is simply the official form of the antagonism in cival society."[56]

The same idea is found in *the Communist Manifesto:*

> "When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a

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[52] Marx, *Civil War in France,* p. 47.

[53] Cf. supra p. 41.

[54] Lenin, "Marxism," in Engels and others, *Karl Marx, Man, Thinker and Revolutionist,* p. 150.

[55] Cf. infra Chapter VII.

[56] Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 190; italics ours.

vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so-called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. ...If, by means of a revolution, it (the proletariat) makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."[57]

In his review of Emile de Girardin's *Le Socialism et l'Impôrt* (1850), Marx definitely speaks of the abolition of the State. "The abolition of the State," says Marx, "is only logical with the Communists as the inevitable result of the abolition of classes, for only then will there be no need for an organized power of one class to keep down the other."[58]

Engels also emphasizes this idea. The Rules of the Communist League, December 8, 1847, drafted by him, include as its purpose "the abolition of the old society based upon class antagonisms".[59] In his *Zur Wohungsfragen* (1872), he points out that the abolition of the State goes together with the abolition of classes.[60] In his *Uber das Autoritätsprinzip* (1873), Engels declares: "All socialists agree that the State, and together with it, also political authority, will vanish as the result of the future Socialist Revolution."[61] In his letter to Bebel (1875), Engels maintains that the State will cease to exist when it becomes possible really to speak of freedom.[62] In his *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* he reiterates:

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[57] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 42.

[58] In *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass,* Vol. III, p. 442. This review was originally published in *Neue Rheinische Revue.*

[59] Cited in Drahn, *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels über die Diktatur des Proletariats,* p. 3.

[60] Engels, *Zur Wohungsfragen,* p. 55, Zurich, 1887. It was first published in *Volkstaat* in 1872.

[61] Engels, "Uber das Autoritäsprinzip," *Neue Zeit* XXXII (1913-1914), 1, p. 39. This article was written against the Anti-Authoritarians (Proudhonist anarchists) and was originally published in 1873 in an Italian socialist review called the *Plebe.*

[62] Engels, Letter to A. Bebel, in Bebel, *Aus meinen Leben,* Vol. II, p. 322, Berlin, 1922 (3 vols.).

"When at last it (the State) becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary."[63]

Again, on another occasion Engels states:

"We are now rapidly approaching a stage of evolution in production, in which the existence of classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive fetter on production. *Hence these classes must fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state must irrevocably fall with them.* The society that is to reorganize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, *will transfer the machinery of state where it will then belong: into the Museum of Antiquities by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe.*"[64]

This idea is repeated even in the latest works of Engels. For instance, in his Introduction (1891) to Marx's *Civil War in France,* he predicts that "the entire state trumpery" will be thrown away in the future.[65] Again, in another introduction to one of his own works, Engels points out that the final political aim of the communists is "the supersession of the whole State, and therefore, also of Democracy" and that this final aim distinguishes Marxists from other socialists.[66]

From the foregoing it is manifest that Marx and Engels include the idea of abolition of the State as a part of their theory of the State. Lenin, the real orthodox Marxist, rightly remarks: "We do not at all disagree with the Anarchists on the question of the abolition of the State as a *final aim.*"[67] It must not be inferred, however, that Marxism is the same as anarchism. Between the two there is a great difference, in spite of their similarity in final

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[63] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 128.

[64] Engels, *Origin of the Family, etc.,* pp. 211-212; italics ours.

[65] The full statement is cited in a later chapter, p. 128.

[66] Engels's Introduction of 1894 to his *"Internationales aus dem Volkstaat,"* cited in Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 85.

[67] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 63; italics his.

aim. It is necessary to point out this difference in order to complete our statement of the Marxian idea of the abolition of the State.

According to Marx and Engels, the abolition of the State involves three steps: the overthrow of the bourgeois State by revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the withering away of the proletarian State. These steps, the details of which will be shown in the following chapters, mark the difference between Marxism and anarchism. Even in respect to the first step which is apparently a common feature of the two, the Marxian methodology of revolution is different from the anarchists'. It may be contrasted, for instance, with Bakuninist anarchism. Bakunin overlooks the class character of the proletariat and the organization of the proletariat itself into a special party, but regards both the intelligentsia and the *lumpenproletariat* (the lowest grade proletariat, including robbers and bandits) as revolutionary elements.[68] Hence the Bakuninist idea of revolution is that of a revolt against the State and authority in general by "a group of determined people with the demon of revolution in their souls",[69] but without the distinct class character of the proletariat. But Marx, as will be seen in another chapter, emphasizes the organization of the proletariat into an independent party.[70] Furthermore, by the "proletariat" he means only "the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live."[71] It is this proletariat which constitutes the "advance-guard", or "vanguard", of all the exploited masses[72] and which "alone is a really revolutionary class."[73] So the Marxian idea of

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[68] Cf. Riazanov, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,* pp. 182, 185, 196. According to Riazanov, Bakunin's idea of stressing the *lumpenproletariat* was obtained from Weitling, cf. ibid., pp. 66-67.

[69] Ibid., p. 185.

[70] Cf. infra pp. 76-77.

[71] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 12, note by Engels. Moreover, Marx regards the proletariat as a class "disciplined, united and organized". —Cf. infra p. 64, n. 9.

[72] Cf. Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* pp. 50, 93.

[73] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 26. Cf. Marx, "A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right," in Marx, *Selected Essays,* p. 37.

revolution is that of an organized, well-planned revolt of a distinct class, the proletariat, against the bourgeois State and the bourgeoisie itself.

The second step, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, distinguishes Marxism from anarchism even more clearly than does the methodology of revolution involved in the first step. In Marxism the State cannot be abolished immediately after the bourgeois State has been destroyed, but a new State, the dictatorship of the proletariat, must be established as a transition to the non-State, the stateless-communistic society.[74] In anarchism the anarchistic society is expected to be realized as soon as the revolution has succeeded. For example, according to Bakunin, "First destroy, and then everything will take care of itself" and the proletarian seizure of power is mere opportunism and therefore rejected.[75] So with the Proudhonist anarchists, the "Anti-Authoritarians", who "demand that the political state should be abolished at one blow" and that "the first act of social revolution shall be the abolition of all authority."[76] Consequently, in anarchism there is no such concept as the third step, the withering away of the proletarian State, which is characteristic of Marxism.

In short, in Marxism the State is destined to be abolished. The first step is the overthrow of the existing State, the bourgeois State, by revolution of the proletarian class. The next task is the establishment of a transitional State, the proletarian dictatorship. This new State, however, is to be abolished not by revolution, by force, but through its own withering away. Therefore, the Marxian idea of the abolition of the State is different from that of anarchism, which is not distinctly proletarian and which admits no more State, even the proletarian State, immediately after the overthrow of the existing State.

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[74] Cf. infra Chapters V and VI.

[75] Cf. Riazanov, op. cit., 185-186. This difference, together with the preceding one, is the fundamental cause of Marx's struggle with Bakunin in the International Workingmen's Association (The First International) Cf. ibid., pp. 193-198; and G. M. Stekloff, *History of the First International,* Part Two, Chapter I, tr. by Eden and Cedar Paul, International Publishers, New York, 1928.

[76] Engels, "Uber das Autoritätsprinzip," *Neue Zeit,* XXXII (1913-14), i, p. 39.

CHAPTER IV

THE OVERTHROW OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE BY REVOLUTION

1. Maturity of Productive Forces

The idea of the overthrow by revolution of the bourgeois State, of the State of the present day, Marx argues, is not based upon imagination or illusion. On the contrary, it is based upon the objective material conditions. As we have seen before, "revolutions are not made by laws", nor created by "the ill will of a few agitators", but brought about by the suppression of social wants by outworn institutions, by the conflict between forces of production and relations of production.[1] "In order for the oppressed class to be emancipated it is necessary that the productive powers already acquired and the existing social relations should no longer be able to exist side by side." "The organization of the revolutionary elements as a class supposes the existence of all the productive forces which can be engendered in the bosom of the old society."[2] Thus the condition or indicator of the revolution for overthrowing the bourgeois order is the outgrowth of productive forces, which collides with the existing institutions.

According to Marx and Engels, this condition is ripe—the productive forces are mature. "The antagonism between the productive forces and the social relations of our epoch", says Marx, "is a fact, palpable, overwhelming, and not to be controverted."[3] Engels holds that "the forces are at hand" to eliminate all the evils of the present day through a new social order,[4] and

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[1] Cf. supra pp. 34-35.

[2] Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* pp. 189-190

[3] Marx, "The Revolution of 1848 and the Proletariat," in Engels and others, *Karl Marx, Man, Thinker and Revolutionist,* p. 74. This essay of Marx is a speech delivered by him on April 14, 1856 at a dinner given by the Chartists for celebrating the 14th anniversary of the founding of the Central Organ, *the People's Paper.*

[4] Engels, *Principles of Communism,* p. 15.

that "the new productive forces *have already outgrown* the capitalistic mode of using them."[5] *The Communist Manifesto* declares:

"Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society."[6]

"The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisis, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. *The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers.* Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."[7]

Here it is definitely maintained that the productive forces have already revolted against the property relations, against the bourgeois rule. The commercial crises are simply a symptom of this revolt. One of the productive forces is wage-labor, whose development results in the combination of the proletariat, in the organization of trade unions.[8] Since this combination is brought about by the system of bourgeois production,[9] the bourgeoisie

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[5] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, pp. 96-97; italics ours.

[6] *The Communist Manifesto*, pp. 19-20.

[7] Ibid., p. 29.

[8] "Permanent combinations have been formed—trade unions—which serve as a rampart for the workers in their struggle with the capitalists."—Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy*, p. 187.

[9] In another place, Marx characterizes the proletariat as "a class always

produces its own antithesis, its own grave diggers. In this sense, capitalism, together with its political rule, the bourgeois State, is self-destructive. In his *Capital,* Marx remarks:

"The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."[10]

This "capitalist integument" is capitalistic appropriation. Engels declares:

"...the products now produced socially were not appropriated by those who had actually set in motion the means of production and actually produced the commodities, but by the *capitalists.* The means of production, and production itself, had become in essence socialized. But they were subjected to a form of appropriation which presupposes the private production of individuals, under which, therefore, every one owns his own product and brings it to market. The mode of production is subjected to this form of appropriation, although it abolishes the conditions upon which the latter rests.

"This contradiction, which gives to the new mode of production its capitalistic character, *contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of to-day."*[11]

This is "the contradiction between socialized production and capitalistic appropriation", which presents itself *"as the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie"* and also *"as an antagonism between the organization of production in the individual workshop and the anarchy of production in society generally."*[12] In short, "the whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production breaks down under the pressure of the productive forces, its own crea-

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increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself."—*Capital,* Vol. I, pp. 836-837.

[10] Ibid., p. 837.

[11] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* pp. 102-103; italics his.

[12] Ibid., p. 105, 110; italics his.

tions."[13] Engels further states:

"On the one hand, therefore, the capitalistic mode of production stands convicted of its own incapacity to further direct these productive forces. On the other, these productive forces themselves, with increasing energy, press forward to the removal of the existing contradiction, to the abolition of their quality as capital, to the *practical recognition of their character as social productive forces.*"[14]

Thus the productive forces "have taken the management of affairs and are driving modern bourgeois society to the necessity of revolution or destruction."[15] The great industry has "now joined battle with the bourgeois organization of industry";[16] it has either to give up its existence—which is an absolute impossibility—or it needs an entirely new organization of society.[17] Thanks to the development of the productive forces, "now for the first time the dominating and exploiting classes have become superfluous and even an obstacle to social progress, and so now for the first time they will be unceremoniously brushed aside in spite of their 'pure force.'"[18] Now "these classes must fall as inevitably as they once arose."[19] In other words, the very condition of the proletarian revolution for the overthrow of the bourgeois order and for the establishment of a higher one is realized. It is from this point of view that the development of productive forces, promoted by capitalism, is "one of the civilized sides of capitalism"[20] and that the capitalist, as "personified capital", is thus "respectable."[21]

From the above discussion, it is manifest that according to Marx and Engels, what is required of a revolution for the over-

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[13] Ibid., p. 117.

[14] Ibid., pp. 118-119; italics his.

[15] Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* p. 192.

[16] Engels, *Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy,* p. 111.

[17] Engels, *Principles of Communism,* p. 14.

[18] Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* p. 211.

[19] Cf. Supra p. 60.

[20] Cf. Marx, *Capital, Vol. III,* p. 953, tr. by Ernest Unterman, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1909.

[21] Cf. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, p. 649.

throw of the bourgeoise order and for the establishment of socialism is only a generally developed capitalism whose productive forces are in conflict with its conditions of production; and that such productive forces have already developed to such a degree that the revolution becomes a necessity. Since Marx and Engels voiced their opinion around the latter half of the nineteenth century, we may well speculate that they would not, as the revisionists do, emphasize further specific conditions for a socialist revolution should they survive to-day.

2. The Revolutionary Method

Although the productive forces revolt against the relations of production, although the bourgeoisie produces its own gravediggers, although capitalism is self-destructive, the revolution for the overthrow of the bourgeois regime, like previous social revolutions, will not come automatically but needs the active work of man, in this case, the proletariat. The reason for this rôle of volition in revolutions has been given in the second chapter. The only point which remains to be considered here is whether by revolution Marx and Engels mean a revolution by force—whether they want to accomplish the coming social revolution, including its necessary political revolution, by the revolutionary method, by force, or merely by the legal, peaceful method such as universal suffrage, legislation, *etc.* It is implied in the title of the present chapter that the revolutionary method is preferred by Marx and Engels. It is, therefore, assumed that with them the revolution means a revolution by force. As the revisionists' argument for the peaceful method is sometimes based upon citations from Marx and Engels, particularly from Engels, it is of utmost importance for us to show that Marx and Engels stand for the revolutionary method.

In his *Poverty of Philosophy* Marx remarks that the class struggle, "carried to its highest expression, is a complete revolution" and queries: "Would it, moreover, be a matter for astonishment if a society, based upon the *antagonism* of classes, should lead ultimately to a brutal *conflict*, to a hand-to-hand struggle as its final *dénoument?*"[22] Then he concludes: until the classes are

[22] Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy*, p. 190, italics his.

abolished, "on the eve of every general reconstruction of society, the last word of social science will ever be:—'Le combat ou la mort; la lutte sanguinaire ou le néant. C'est ainsi que la question est invinciblement posée.' "[23] A brutal conflict, a bloody struggle, is nothing but a violent revolution, a revolution by force. Indeed, the class struggle is "a veritable civil war".[24] In *the Communist Manifesto* we find the same idea:

> "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only *by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution.* The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."[25]

In reference to the method adopted by the "Critical-Utopian" socialists and communists, Marx remarks in the same Manifesto: "They reject all political, and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means and endeavor, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel."[26]

In his articles published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49),[27] Marx defends every revolutionary tendency against the bourgeois order. For instance, in "The June Days" (written on June 28, 1848) he holds: "The clashes that spontaneously arise out of the conditions of bourgeois society must be fought to the bitter end; they cannot be conjured out of existence."[28] In another article on the fall of Vienna (written on November 6, 1848) he declares: "The fruitless butcheries which have oc-

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[23] Ibid., p. 191. The statement in French was cited from George Sand. In English it reads: "Combat or death; bloody struggle or extinction. It is thus that the question is irresistably put."

[24] Ibid., p. 188. Marx, on another occasion, refers to the struggle between capital and labor as "civil war in its most terrible form."—Cf. Marx, "The June Days," (first published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848), in Engels and others, op. cit., p. 64.

[25] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 58; italics ours.

[26] Ibid., p. 54.

[27] These articles are reprinted in *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels,* Vol. III.

[28] Marx, "The June Days," in Engels and others, op. cit., p. 68.

curred since these June and October days . . . will convince the people that there is only one means of shortening, simplifying, and concentrating the torturing death agonies of society—only one means—revolutionary terrorism."[29]

In his "Address to the Communist League" (March, 1850), Marx says:

"The democratic demands can never satisfy the party of the proletariat. While the democratic petty bourgeoisie would like to bring the revolution to a close as soon as their demands are more or less complied with, *it is to our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent,* to keep it going until all the ruling and possessing classes are deprived of power, the governmental machinery occupied by the proletariat, and the organization of the working classes of all lands in so far advanced that all rivalry and competition among themselves has ceased; until the more important forces of production are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. *With us it is not a matter of reforming private property, but of abolishing it,* not of hushing up the class antagonism, but of abolishing the classes, not of ameliorating the existing society, but of establishing a new one."[30]

Here Marx definitely teaches the workers to make the revolution permanent, to keep it going until they have won complete victory. Simultaneously Marx, in his *Class Struggles in France,* repeats the idea of the revolution in permanence[31] and shows his argument for the revolutionary method throughout the whole work. In his *Eighteenth Brumaire* (1852) he contends, as will be shown later, that the next French revolution will be the destruction of the State machinery.[32]

However, the above references regarding Marx's idea of the revolutionary method are to those in his earlier works, in the

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[29] This English version is taken from Max Beer, *Life and Teaching of Karl Marx,* p. 50.

[30] Marx, "Address to the Communist League," 1850, in "Two Speeches by Karl Marx," p. 5, The Historical Research Bureau, Vancouver (undated); italics ours. The translation of this address is by Max Beer and was first published in *the Labour Monthly,* September, 1922, pp. 13-146. The other speech in the pamphlet is Marx's Inaugural address of the International Workingmen's Association, which will be subsequently referred to simply as "Inaugural Address."

[31] Cf. Marx, *Class Struggles in France,* p. 174.

[32] Cf. Infra, pp. 91-92.

works of the young or "immature" Marx.[33] At the time (1867) when he published the first volume of his *Capital,* Marx was quite mature both in age and in scholarship. Yet in this very work, he expresses, as noted before, that "the expropriators are expropriated" when "the knell of capitalist private property sounds";[34] and further declares: "Force is the mid-wife of every old society pregnant with a new one."[35] In his letter to Kugelmann (April 12, 1871), and in the preface, written jointly with Engels in 1872, to a new German edition of *the Communist Manifesto,* Marx, as will be seen in detail in the next chapter, emphasizes the necessity of the destruction of the State machinery. In his speech (1872) at the Hague Congress of the First International, he declares: "It is to force that in due time the workers will have to appeal if the dominion of labour is at long last to be established."[36] In his *Criticism of the Gotha Program* (1875), Marx presents his argument for the revolutionary method and regards the peaceful demands such as universal suffrage, direct legislation, *etc.,* as "a mere echo of the middle-class People's Party" (p. 38).[37] Again, speaking of the position of the Zurich social democrats (1879), Marx contends that Liebknecht (Wilhelm), by opening the door for the pacifists, created demoralization in the party, and severely attacks the compromise policy of social democrats.[38] Thus the mature Marx is just as revolutionary as the immature

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[33] Kautsky refers to modern communism as "Old-time Marxism" (cf. his *Labour Revolution,* p. 27); Simkhovitch holds that Marx had little respect in his later years for revolutionaries (Cf. his *Marxism vs. Socialism,* p. 252); and Bober contends that in the later years the tone of Marx and Engels changes (Cf. his *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History,* p. 250).

[34] Cf. supra p. 65.

[35] Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, p. 824.

[36] Cited in Stekloff, *History of the First International,* p. 240.

[37] When first publishing this work of Marx in *Neue Zeit* (IX, 1, pp. 561 *et seq.*) in 1891, Engels remarked: "Since the Halle Convention put the discussion of the Gotha program on the party's order of business, I would consider myself guilty of wrongful suppression were I still longer to withhold from the public this important document—perhaps the most important document bearing on this discussion."—Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program,* Engels's Preface, p. 13.

[38] Cited in Drahn, *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels über die Diktatur des Proletariats,* p. 18.

Marx.[39]

Engels is no less revolutionary than Marx. His answer to the peaceful method is as follows:

"It is desirable that the abolition of private property be brought peacefully, and the Communists surely are the last ones who would object to this method. The Communists know too well that all conspiracies are not only useless but even harmful. They know too well that revolutions are not made intentionally and willfully, but that *they are everywhere and at all times the necessary results of circumstances* which are entirely independent of the will and direction of individual parties and whole classes. But at the same time the Communists see that the development of the proletariat in almost all civilized countries is violently suppressed and that thus *the opponents of the Communists are working with all power toward making a (violent) revolution necessary. When the suppressed proletariat is finally driven into a (violent) revolution then the Communists shall defend the cause of the proletariat with their deeds as well as with words.*"[40]

Here, Engels, although admitting the desirability of the peaceful method,[41] attempts to show that a violent revolution is a necessity. The whole passage amounts to this: The peaceful method is, of course, desirable, but in view of the circumstances, the revolutionary method is necessary.

It is needless to say that Engels shares with Marx the revolutionary ideas as expressed in *the Communist Manifesto* and in the

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[39] The above and subsequent findings disprove Mautner's contention that Marx prefers the peaceful method, while Lenin prefers violence.—Cf. Mautner, *Der Bolschevismus,* pp. 212-213 (the third and fourth differences between Marx-Engels and Lenin).

Max Beer is perfectly correct when he says: "Marx was a revolutionary not only in the sense that he was the representative of a new economic order, but also in the popular sense of advocating the use of force."—See his *Life and Teaching of Karl Marx,* p. 39. So with Laski who remarks: "The method by which the proletariat was to secure power lies at the very root of Marx's doctrine, ... The Method was revolution, ..." — See his *Karl Marx, An Essay,* p. 35.

[40] Engels, *Principles of Communism,* p. 17; italics ours.

[41] Max Bedacht explains this admission of Engels by saying that "he (Engels) did not want to frighten unnecessarily his newly won adherents of the Paris Club" and that "Engels therefore presents armed conflicts as an historic probability"—ibid., Appendix, p. 31. This explanation is justifiable because the draft of *the Communist Manifesto (Principles of Communism)* was written in Paris.

Preface of 1872 to its new German edition, since both the Manifesto and the Preface are their joint works. In his *Uber das Autoritätsprinzip* (1873), Engels defines revolution as "an act in which part of the population forces its will on the other part *by means of rifles, bayonets cannon, i. e.,* the most authoritative means."[42] In his *Anti-Dühring* (1878) he holds that force plays a revolutionary rôle in history, "that it is the tool by means of which social progress is forwarded and foolish, dead political forms destroyed."[43] In his Introduction (March 18, 1891) to Marx's *Civil War in France,* Engels also stresses, as will be shown later,[44] the destruction of the State machinery. In his criticism of the draft of the Erfurt Program (1891), he criticizes the adoption by German social democrats of the legal, peaceful method as "opportunism".[45]

Thus far we have shown that the old Marx is just as revolutionary as the young Marx and that Engels also remains throughout his life as revolutionary as Marx. But the revisionists who stand for the peaceful method used to base their arguments upon quotations from Marx and Engels. Let us see, then, what these quotations are. Bernstein, the founder of revisionism, reminds us of two things:[46] (1) the joint preface of Marx and Engels to the new edition of *the Communist Manifesto,* 1872, in which they maintain "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes", and (2) Engels's Introduction of 1895 to Marx's *Class Struggles in France,* in which Engels renounces the revolutionary method

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[42] *Neue Zeit,* XXXII (1913-1914), 1, p. 39; italics ours.

[43] Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* p. 213.
It is interesting to note that Von Wieser, one of the leaders of the Austrian School, accepts this Marxian idea, although he makes no acknowledgement to either Marx or Engels. For he repeatedly declares that if a higher stage of development is to be reached, a return to *Gewalt* (force) is necessary.—See Friedrich Wieser, *Das Gesetz der Macht,* pp. 257, 259, Vienna, 1926.

[44] Cf. infra, p. 92.

[45] Cf. Engels, "Zur Kritik des sozialdemokratischen Programmentwurfes 1891" (a letter to Kautsky, dated June 29, 1891), *Neue Zeit,* XX (1901-1902), 1, pp. 5-13.

[46] Cf. Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism,* preface of 1899, p. xii.

and approves the legal method. The first citation, as will be shown later in connection with our discussion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is an argument for the revolutionary method, for the destruction of the State machinery,[47] but it has been taken by Bernstein as an anti-revolutionary idea, as an idea of gradual development in contrast with the sudden seizure of power.[48] The second reference, Engels's Introduction to Marx's *Class Struggles in France,* as published by the *Vorwärts,* certainly proves that Engels favored the peaceful method.[49] Surprisingly it is not the original Introduction of Engels, but a distorted extract from it.[50] According to a great authority on Marxism, it was Bernstein himself who did the distorting.[51] Such being the case, it is needless to refute any argument based upon this distorted Introduction, although many writers have been fooled by Bernstein and have taken it as Engels's endorsement of the peaceful method.[52] Suffice it here to point out that in his original manuscript Engels still emphasizes the importance of the street

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[47] Cf. infra p. 92.

[48] Simkhovitch and Spargo, following Bernstein, gives the same interpretation to the above statement of Marx, cf. Simkhovitch, op. cit. p. 247 and Spargo, *Bolshevism,* p. 268.

[49] Cf. Marx, *Class Struggles in France,* Engels's Introduction of March 6, 1895, pp. 1-30. This is a translation of the German book, *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich,* published by the *Vorwärts* in 1895. The introduction was first published in the *Vorwärts* itself, sometime in March, 1895.

[50] Kautsky the Marxist has told us the story in an article published in *Neue Zeit,* XXVII, 1. A part of this article is reproduced in his *Der Weg Zur Macht,* pp. 41-43. It is exactly these few pages which are omitted in the English translation, *The Road to Power.* In *Der Weg Zur Macht,* p. 43, Kautsky has cited a letter from Engels, dated April 1, 1895: "To my astonishment I notice in the *Vorwärts* to-day an extract reprinted without my previous knowledge and distorted in such a manner that I stand there as a peaceable worshipper of legality at any price."

[51] Riazanov has recently discovered Engels's original manuscript of the Introduction and maintained that Bernstein did the distorting. A. Trachtenburg has reported this discovery in a section of his article, "The Marx-Engels Institute," sub-headed "German Socialist falsify Engels," in *the Workers' Monthly,* Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 23-25, Nov. 1925. This report is reproduced in the present volume as an appendix.

[52] Cf. Sombart, *Socialism and the Social Movement,* p. 68; Simkhovitch, op. cit. p. 251; Spargo, op. cit., pp. 267-268; Max Beer, "The Testament of Engels," *The Labour Monthly,* April-May, 1922, p. 366; Laidler, *History of Socialist Thought,* pp. 181-182; and Bober, op. cit., pp. 251-252.

battles of the future,[53] and that even in cases where he speaks favorably of the peaceful method, he speaks in consideration of the cautiousness of his Berlin friends.[54]

It is true, however, that occasionally both Marx and Engels admit the possibility of the peaceful method. Even so, they regard it simply as an exception. In his letter to Kugelmann, (1871) Marx indicates the necessity of the destruction of the State machinery only for the Continent.[55] Therefore England and America are excluded. In his speech (1872) at the Hague Congress of the First International, Marx remarks that in certain countries like England and America "the workers *may hope* to secure their ends by peaceful means."[56] In his criticism of the draft of the Erfurt program (1891) Engels says that in countries like England and America "it is conceivable" that there may be a peaceful development toward the new society.[57] Yet even in these utterances of Marx and Engels, which have often been cited by Kautsky the revisionist as indicating their renunciation of revolution,[58] the peaceful method is regarded only as a possibility, as an exception. Marx and Engels are perhaps careful not to tie their hands in advance.[59] Moreover, the State machinery

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[53] Cf. infra, Appendix I, p. 212.

[54] "My text has suffered somewhat on account of the cautiousness of Berlin friends whom I had to consider under the circumstances"—Engels's letter of March 25, 1895 to Kautsky, cited by Kautsky in *Neue Zeit,* XXVII, 1, p. 7 and in *Der Weg Zur Macht,* p. 42.

[55] Cf. infra, p. 92.

[56] Cited in Stekloff op. cit., p. 240; italics ours.

[57] Cf. Engels, "Zur Kritik des sozialdemokratischen Progrmmenturfes 1891," *Neue Zeit,* XX (1901-1902), 1, pp. 5-13.

[58] Cf. Kautsky, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* pp. 9-10, and *The Labour Revolution,* pp. 24-25, 65-66.

[59] Referring to the above statement of Engels, Lenin says: "Engels is sufficiently careful not to tie his hands in advance."—See his *State and Revolution,* pp. 72-73. This explanation equally applies to Marx. On this point Laski correctly states: " . . . Nor can we expect that a peaceful revolution is possible. While Marx had certain doubts of England, on the whole he was certain that a violent struggle was inevitable. The workers might capture Parliament at the polls, but political power of that kind is in any case a shadow; were it used for an assault upon property, it would inevitably provoke an armed resistance."—See *Karl Mark, An Essay,* p. 37.

of England and America to-day, as pointed out by Lenin, is stronger than in the seventies or nineties.[60]

In short, the incidental admissions by Marx and Engels of the possibility of the peaceful method—their recognition of it as an exception—cannot be taken to cancel their repeated, positive endorsements of the revolutionary method. These endorsements could be considered as renounced by one of the two authors, only if Engels's Introduction to Marx's *Civil War in France* were not falsified by Bernstein. In reference to Engels, Kautsky the Marxist once shows us that Engels never disavowed the revolutionary position, as has been sometimes claimed.[61] It will be superfluous, then, to examine further the interpretations, or rather misinterpretations, given by Kautsky the revisionist and others to other seemingly mild utterances of Marx and Engels which, in spite of such interpretations or misinterpretations, have nothing to do with the question of the peaceful *vs.* the revolutionary method.[62]

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[60] Cf. infra p. 93.

[61] Cf. Kautsky, *Der Weg Zur Macht,* pp. 41-44. A. Landy also rightly remarks: "... at no time did Engels degrade his revolutionary Marxism to a social-democratic parliamentarism."—See his "Engels on American Labor Movement," *The Communist Monthly,* May, 1928, p. 312.

[62] For instance, Kautsky the revisionist regards the following statement of Marx as Marx's argument for the peaceful method (cf. Kautsky, *Terrorism and Communism,* pp. 51-52). "From the 18th of March to the entrance of the Versailles troops into Paris, the proletarian revolution remained so free from the acts of violence in which the revolutions, and still more the counter-revolutions, of the 'better classes' abound, that no facts were left to its opponents to cry out about, but the execution of Generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas and the affair of the Place Vendome."—Marx, *Civil War in France,* p. 31. Evidently this is directed against those who accused the Paris Commune of violent actions. What Marx means is simply that the Paris Commune is more free from violent actions than other revolutions and still more so than counter-revolutions. This is quite different from Kautsky's interpretation.

Again Kautsky the revisionist refers to the three sections on "force theory" in chapter VIII of *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Dühring)* as Engels's objection to force even in the "revolutionary form" (cf. Kautsky, *Terrorism and Communism,* p. 158). But Engels here defends historical materialism against Dühring's "force theory of history". This is a different story. According to historical materialism, as already shown, the economic conditions, the productive forces, are the prime mover of history and the fundamental condition of revolution, while a volitional revolution by force is the locomotive of history. In the same work, Engels,

3. Other Measures and Tactics

It has been shown that according to Marx and Engels the bourgeois State is to be overthrown by the revolutionary method, by force. In conjunction with this method, there are a number of auxiliary measures or tactics, all of which are intended for the single purpose—the destruction of the bourgeois State. A consideration of Marxian tactics will also show the Marxian attitude toward the so-called legal, peaceful measures and abstract conceptions.

First, in Marxian tactics, the organization of the proletariat is of utmost importance. Although the economic conditions have "transformed the mass of the people of a country into wage-workers", although "this mass is already a class," it is "not yet for itself."[63] "The mass can only bring their pressure to bear when an organization has gathered them together and given them an intelligent lead."[64] Hence the "immediate aim of the Com-

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as quoted before, still emphasizes the rôle of force in history. Thus, Kautsky's interpretation is hardly convincing.

Sombart refers to the controversies of Marx and Engels with the Willich-Schapper faction in 1850, with Bakunin in the First International, with the anarchists, with Herr Dühring, etc. as evidences of Marx's and Engels's idea of the peaceful method (cf. his *Socialism and the Social movement,* p. 67). The significance of the controversies of Marx and Engels with Bakunin and with the Proudhonist anarchists have been explained in preceding chapter; and their struggle with Dühring has been touched above. The remaining question is the controversy of Marx and Engels with the Willich-Schapper faction in 1850. But this again is not a question of the peaceful vs. the revolutionary method. At the end of 1850 Marx thought that economic conditions were unfavorable for an immediate revolution and that any attempt to force it was doomed to defeat. But the Willich-Schapper faction overlooked this (cf. Riazanov, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,* pp. 100-101). Simkhovitch, like Sombart, without considering the nature of the controversy, has cited with delight a statement of Marx apropos Willich from Marx's *Enthullungen über den kölner Kommunistenprozess* (cf. Simkhovitch, op. cit. pp. 252-253), which statement only emphasizes "the march of events," the economic conditions, but says nothing in favor of the peaceful method. Kautsky the revisionist has also cited another statement from the same work in order to support his own peaceful idea (cf. his *Terrorism and Communism,* pp. 92-93). What Marx emphasizes in that statement is that a revolution is not a single event but may go through twenty or fifty years of civil wars and struggles.

[63] Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* pp. 188-189.

[64] Marx, "Inaugural Address," in "Two Speeches by Karl Marx" p. 15. Marx once shouted at Weitling: "Ignorance never helped nor did anybody any good," cited in Riazanov, op. cit. p. 71.

munists" is "the formation of the proletariat into a class,"[65] particularly into a political party. It is true that the proletarians under the forces of capitalism have already united themselves into combinations, into trade unions.[66] But "against the collective power of the propertied classes, the proletariat could only act as a class by forming itself into a distinct political party opposed to all the old political parties that had been formed by the propertied classes" and this constitution of the proletariat into a political party is "an indispensible preliminary to the triumph of the social revolution and to the achievement of its supreme end, the abolition of classes."[67] It is exactly this point which, as noted before, constitutes one of the differences between Marx and Bakunin.[68] It is needless to add that "the home country is the immediate scene of action" of class struggle[69] and that the organization of the proletariat at home into a political party is not nationalism "in the bourgeois sense of the word."[70]

Secondly, the proletariat must not only be organized nationally as political parties, but must also be united internationally through some international organization like the Communist League or the First International. Marxism, both in theory and in tactics, is international. Theoretically "the working men have no country", no fatherland; tactically united action of the proletariat is the essential condition of its emancipation; hence working men of all countries must unite.[71] As capitalism itself becomes international[72] and "the national governments are *one* as against the

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[65] *The Communist Manifesto,* pp. 30-31.

[66] Cf. supra p. 64.

[67] The resolution adopted by the London Conference of the First International in September 1871, indirectly quoted in Stekloff, op. cit., pp. 209-210; cf. Riazanov, op. cit., p. 193.

[68] Cf. supra p. 61.

[69] Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program,* p. 36.

[70] Cf. *the Communist Manifesto,* p. 38.

[71] Cf. *the Communist Manifesto,* pp. 38, 58.

[72] "National differences, and antagonisms between peoples, are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto."—Ibid., p. 38.

proletariat",[73] the problem of class struggle "will nowhere be solved within the national walls"[74] but there must be the international solidarity "of the working classes in their common struggle against the ruling classes and their governments."[75] "The emancipation of labour is neither a local, nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists."[76] Hence the social revolution is a world revolution, "a revolution which means the emancipation of their class all over the world, which is as universal as capital-rule and wage-slavery";[77] and its outcome will be a world war.[78] For this reason "the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement, against the existing social and political order of things";[79] the workingmen in one country should be, through some international organization, "constantly informed of the movements of

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[73] Marx, *Civil War in France,* p. 76; italics his.

[74] Marx, *Class Struggles in France,* p. 156.

[75] Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program,* p. 37.

[76] "Preamble and Provisional Rules of the International Workingmen's Association," in Stekloff, op. cit., p. 446.

[77] Marx, "The Revolution of 1848 and the Proletariat," in Engels and others, op. cit., p. 75.

[78] Cf. Marx, *Class Struggles in France,* pp. 46-47, 156. Marx and Engels used to speak of the world revolution or war as the European revolution or war and frequently cherished the hope of its advent. For instance, in 1885 Engels predicted the outbreak of a European revolution in the near future (in his Introduction to Marx's *Enthullungen über den kölner Kommunistenprozess,* cited in Kautsky, *The Road to Power,* p. 8). In 1891, Engels prophesied in an article (in *Neue Zeit,* X, 1) that the coming European war might either bring about the immediate victory of socialism or postpone it for ten or fifteen years.

Riazanov correctly remarks that Marx and Engels "considered European events from the point of view of the World Revolution, not only the German, nor merely the Prussian."—Riazanov, op. cit., p. 115.

[79] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 58. Lenin says: "We would be very bad revolutionaries if in the great proletarian war for liberation and socialism we failed to utilize every national movement against the various misfortunes caused by imperialism, for the purposes of intensifying and expanding the crisis." He further declares: "All Communist Parties must render active aid to the revolutionary liberation movements in those (backward) countries."—Lenin, "National and Colonial Revolutions" (a collection of excerpts from his writings), *The Communist Monthly,* January, 1928, pp. 40-41.

their class in every other country";[80] and they should master "the secrets of international politics".[81]

Thirdly, in the actual fight for its emancipation, the proletariat should act differently according to the stage of the political development of its own country.[82] In a democratic country, for instance, the proletariat should carry its struggle directly against the bourgeoisie. The democratic republic, says Marx, is the "final form of State organization of capitalistic society" under which form "the class struggle is to be definitely fought out".[83] Engels also remarks: "The last decisive struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can only be fought out under this state form (the democratic republic)."[84] It is in this sense that Engels once speaks of the democratic republic as the political regime under which the working class can gain supremacy and thus as the specific form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.[85] On one occasion Marx declares that "the best form of State is the one in which social oppositions are not slurred over", the one in which class conflicts "secure free expression".[86] Therefore the demo-

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[80] "Preamble and Provisional Rules of the International Workingmen's Association," in Stekloff, op. cit., p. 447.

[81] Marx, "Inaugural Address," in "Two Speeches by Karl Marx," p. 15.

[82] Cf. *the Communist Manifesto,* Part IV.

[83] Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program,* p. 49.

[84] Engels, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,* p. 210.

[85] Cf. Engels, "Zur Kritik des sozialdemokratischen Programmentwurfes," *Neue Zeit,* XX (1901-1902), 1, pp. 5-13.

As we have pointed out that Marx and Engels have little respect for the democratic republic (cf. supra p. 55), the present citation from Engels evidently does not signify any favor for the democratic republic but his view of it from the standpoint of revolutionary tactics. Therefore Kautsky is mistaken in regarding the same citation as Engels's opinion in favor of the democratic republic (cf. his *Labour Revolution,* p. 67).

So with Mautner who maintains that Marx considers the democratic republic as the proper form of proletarian dictatorship—cf. Mautner, op. cit., p. 213 (the fifth difference between Marx-Engels and Lenin). Obviously Mautner overlooks all utterances of Marx and Engels on the democratic republic but the above statement of Engels (which is even mistaken by Mautner as Marx's) and neglects Marx's whole discussion (as well as Engels's) of the Paris Commune which shows clearly Marx's idea of the proper form of proletarian dictatorship (cf.. infra Chapter V, Sections 2 and 3).

[86] Marx, "The June Days," in Engels and others, op. cit., p. 68.

cratic republic must be the best form of the State *from the standpoint of the class struggle.* Lenin has well explained this:

"For such a republic, without in the least setting aside the domination of capital, and, therefore, the oppression of the masses and the class struggle, inevitably leads to such an extension, intensification and development of that struggle that, as soon as the chance arises for satisfying the fundamental interests of the oppressed masses, this chance is realized inevitably and solely in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the guidance of these masses by the proletariat."[87]

But in a country where the petty bourgeois democrats are also oppressed, the working-class party shall first fight, jointly with such democrats, against the reactionary enemy, and then, after the victory, against these democrats themselves, against bourgeois democracy. Marx sets forth:

"In case of an attack on a common adversary no special union is necessary; in the fight with such an enemy the interests of both parties, the middle-class democrats and the working-class party, coincide for the moment, and both parties will carry it on *by a temporary understanding.* ... As hitherto, so in the coming struggle, the petty bourgeoisie as a whole will maintain an attitude of delay, irresolution, and inactivity as long as possible, in order that, as soon as victory is assured, they may arrogate it to themselves and call upon the workers to remain quiet, return to work, avoid so-called excesses, and thus shut off the workers from the fruits of victory. It is not in the power of the workers to prevent the petty bourgeois democrats from doing that; but it is within their power to render their ascendency over the armed proletariat difficult, and to dictate to them such terms *as shall make the rule of the bourgeois democracy carry within itself from the beginning the germ of dissolution,* and its ultimate substitution by the rule of the proletariat considerably facilitated.

"... In short, *we must no longer direct our distrust against the beaten reactionary enemy, but against our former allies,* against the party who are now about to exploit the common victory for their own ends only."[88]

Since Marx wants to "make the rule of bourgeois democracy carry within itself from the beginning the germ of dissolution,"

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[87] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 74.

[88] Marx, "Address to the Communist League, 1850," in "Two Speeches by Karl Marx", pp. 6-7; italics ours.

our statement that the democratic republic, according to Marx and Engels, is the best form of the State simply from the standpoint of revolutionary tactics is further proved. In short, in Marxian tactics, wherever democracy exists, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is clear-cut and the proletariat should, therefore, carry on the fight directly against the bourgeoisie, against bourgeois democracy. But wherever democracy does not exist, as under absolute monarchy or feudal aristocracy, the proletariat should *temporarily* ally with the bourgeoisie in the attack on the common enemy. Then democracy will follow the victory and therein the work of the proletariat is the same as in a country where there is no reactionary enemy but democracy, *i. e.,* to fight for the overthrow of the bourgeois State. In other words, first help establish democracy and then destroy it.[89] One is bourgeois revolution and the other is proletarian revolution. Yet these two revolutions need not be far apart in time. Speaking of Germany, Marx points out that "after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin" and thus the bourgeois revolution will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution.[90]

Fourthly, all legal and reformistic measures are viewed not as a substitute for revolution by force, but as the auxiliary means to the overthrow of the bourgeois State.[91] In other words, these

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[89] According to Marx, this is a matter of historical necessity, and thus in agreement with his historical materialism.

[90] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 58. Mautner overlooks this point when he charges Lenin with having omitted stages in the evolution of society.—Cf. Mautner, op. cit., p. 214 (the eighth difference between Marx-Engels and Lenin). Since Marx had expected in 1848 that the proletarian revolution should immediately follow the bourgeois revolution in Germany, Lenin was not un-Marxian when he, in 1917, led the Bolshevists to make the November Revolution succeed the March Revolution in Russia.—Cf. infra, Chapter VIII, Section 1.

[91] Notice the following criticism by Marx of the social democrats: "The peculiar character of the Social Democracy is summed up in this: that democratic-republican institutions are demanded as the means, not to remove the two extremes—Capital and Wage-slavery,— but in order to weaken their antagonism and transform them into a harmonious whole. ... This substance is the transformation of society upon democratic lines,

measures are utilized simply for destructive purposes.[92] For instance, universal suffrage, as noted before, is regarded as the instrument through which the possessing class rules, so long as the proletariat is not quite mature.[93] Even when the proletariat matures towards its self-emancipation and elects its own representatives in place of the capitalists, universal suffrage can and will never be anything else but the gauge of the maturity of the working class in the modern State.[94] Yet the proletariat must not lose sight of utilizing election campaigns for steeling its forces and for bringing its revolutionary attitude and party views before the public, irrespective of whether its candidates can be elected.[95] Should these candidates be elected, they "must use the bourgeois parliaments as a tribunal, as one of their bases of propaganda, agitation and organization" so long as revolution is not placed on the order of the day.[96]

Again, let us take legislation, such as factory acts, *etc.* Factory legislation is regarded by Marx not as the solution to the problem but as "the necessary product of modern industry".[97] The extension of such legislation "accelerates the concentration of capital and the exclusive predominance of the factory system." In other words, it matures the industrial conditions. By so doing, "it matures the contradictions and antagonisms of the capitalist form

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but a transformation within the boundaries of the small traders' class." —*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* p. 52. It is obvious, then, that Marx considers democratic-republican institutions not as a means to the transformation of society but as a means to removing capital and wage-labor, *e. g.,* to destroying capitalism. It is needless to add that on account of Marx's insistence upon forcible revolution, such a means is but an auxiliary one.

[92] Laski rightly remarks on Marxism: "The proletariat must seize a propitious moment for the revolution; but until it comes, they must do all in their power to disturb the existing regime."—See his *Karl Marx, An Essay,* pp. 35-36.

[93] Cf. supra p. 55.

[94] Cf. Engels, *Origin of the Family, etc.,* p. 211. For Marx's criticism of the policy of taking universal suffrage for the revolutionary method, see his *Class Struggles in France,* pp. 190-191.

[95] Cf. Marx, "Address to the Communist League, 1850," in "Two Speeches by Karl Marx", pp. 7-8.

[96] Cf. Lenin, "A Letter to the Workers of Europe and America," (Jan. 12, 1919), *The Communist Monthly,* January, 1928, p. 5.

[97] Cf. Marx, *Capital,* Vol. I, p. 526.

of production, and *thereby provides, along with the elements for the formation of a new society, the forces for exploding the old one.*"[98] Thus factory legislation serves the purpose of destroying the bourgeois order.

So with labor unions, which are still organizations of "wage labor"[99] and arise for the maintenance of wages, but which now have as their object the maintenance of the association itself and may thus become a fighting organ against the bourgeoisie.[100] "In this struggle—a veritable civil war—are united and developed all the elements necessary for a future battle. Once arrived at that point, association takes a political character."

Likewise with State ownership of industry, which is not the solution of the conflict, but brings the capitalist relation to a head. When brought to a head, this relation "topples over." Hence concealed within State ownership are "the technical conditions that form the elements of the solution."[101] It shows "the nearness, ease, feasibility and urgency of the Socialist Revolution".[102]

Other legal and reformistic measures which are to be demanded by the proletariat according to circumstances are also intended for destructive purposes. This is well summed up in the following passage:

"...Of course they (the workers) cannot in the beginning propose actual communist measures, but they can (i) compel the democrats to attack the old social order from as many sides as possible, disturb their regular procedure and compromise themselves, and concentrate in the hands of the

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[98] Ibid., p. 552. In his "Inaugural Address," Marx refers to the Ten-Hour Bill as the victory of a principle, of the political economy of the working class over the political economy of the bourgeoisie, that is, as an indication of the decay of capitalism, but nothing more (cf. "Two Speeches by Karl Marx", pp. 13-14). This cannot be taken as meaning that Marx favored the legal method (it is taken as such by Bober, see his *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History,* p. 250), because even the co-operative movement which is a "greater victory" of principle than the Ten-Hour Bill, as will be shown later, is not sufficient as a substitute for the revolutionary method (cf. infra p. 86).

[99] Cf. Marx, *Class Struggles in France,* p. 46.

[100] Cf. Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 188. The citation immediately following is taken from the same page.

[101] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* pp. 123-124.

[102] Cf. Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 71.

State as much as possible of the productive forces, means of transport, factories, railways, etc. (ii) The measures of the democrats which in any case are not revolutionary but merely reformist, must be pressed to the point of turning them into direct attacks on private property; thus, for instance, if the petty bourgeoisie propose to purchase the railways and factories, the workers must demand that such railways and factories, being the property of the reactionaries, shall simply be confiscated by the State without compensation. If the democrats propose proportional taxation, the workers must demand progressive taxation. If the democrats themselves declare for a moderate progressive tax, the workers must insist on a tax so steeply graduated as to cause the collapse of large capital; if the democrats propose the regulation of the National Debt, the workers must demand State bankruptcy. The demands of the workers will depend on the proposals and measures of the democrats."[103]

Thus it is evident that Marx does not expect to realize socialism by legal measures instead of by revolution, but considers these measures as the auxiliary means to destroying the bourgeois order. Only the petty bourgeois class which demands such measures "dreams of the peaceful introduction of its socialism". But this is "doctrinaire socialism" as distinguished from revolutionary socialism.[104]

Fifthly and lastly, all abstract conceptions and milder measures are rejected in Marxian tactics. For instance, culture, morality,, civilization and other high sounding phrases are declared valueless. Culture is "class culture",[105] morality is "class morality",[106] civilization is based upon "exploitation of one class by another" and the good of the whole society is the good of the ruling class.[107] Religion, like order, is one of the vital conditions of the bourgeois rule.[108] Freedom is bourgeois freedom and individuality is bour-

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[103] Marx, "Address to the Communist League, 1850," in "Two Speeches by Karl Marx", pp. 8-9.

[104] Cf. Marx, *Class Struggles in France,* pp. 173-174.

[105] Cf. *the Communist Manifesto,* p. 35.

[106] Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* p. 129.

[107] Engels, *Origin of the Family, etc.,* p. 216.

[108] Marx mentions property, the family, religion and order as the "vital conditions" of the bourgeois rule.—Cf. his *Class Struggles in France,* p. 118.

geois individuality.[109] Equality is also a bourgeois watchword,[110] and even as a means of agitation to be adopted by the proletariat it stands or falls with bourgeois equality.[111] Equal right from the standpoint of the laborer is the right to sell his labor for bare subsistence.[112] The right of association is only the right of such association as is in harmony with the bourgeois order.[113] The right to work is a "contradiction, a miserable pious wish."[114] Fraternity expressed in deed is the war between capital and labor.[115] Justice and injustice are but "bookworm's notions".[116] In short, the communist revolution "involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."[117]

As to the milder measures which are rejected in Marxian tactics, we may give a few examples. Humanitarianism or philanthropy is simply fantasy.[118] The corporative shares are "plain cheating".[119] State aid is a shame[120] and State welfare institutions and

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[109] Cf. *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 33. Lenin also says: "Freedom in capitalist society always remains more or less the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics, that is, freedom for the slave owners."—See his *State and Revolution,* p. 92.

[110] Cf. Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* p. 141.

[111] Cf. ibid., p. 144.

[112] Cf. Engels, *Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy,* p. 87.

[113] Cf. Marx, *Class Struggles in France,* p. 109.

[114] Ibid., p. 87.

[115] Cf. Marx, "The June Days," in Engels and others, op. cit., p. 64.

[116] Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* p. 184.

[117] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 40.
It should be noted here that in the "Inaugural Address" and in the "Preamble and Provisional Rules of the International Workingmen's Association," Marx employed some abstract phrase such as truth, justice, morality, rights and duties. But Marx himself explained this in his letter to Engels (dated Nov. 4, 1864): "It was difficult to arrange matters in such a way that our views should appear in a form acceptable to the working-class movement with its present outlook. ... It will take time before the reanimated movement will allow of the old boldness of speech. Our motto must be for the present *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo* (firmly in principle and gently in manner)." —*Der Briefwechwessel zwischen Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx,* 1844 *bis* 1883, Vol III, p. 191, edited by A. Bebel and E. Bernstein, Stuttgart, 1912-1913 (4 vols.). For the detailed reasons, see Riazanov, op. cit., pp. 160-164.

[118] Cf. Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* pp. 135-136.

[119] Cf. Marx, *Class Struggles in France,* p. 186.

[120] Cf. Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program,* p. 44.

high wages are intended to "bribe the working class into quiescence".[121] The co-operative movement, although demonstrating the principle of "associated labor" as contrasted with wage labor, is "limited to occasional experiments" and "can never acquire the strength necessary to hold the geometrically progressive increase of monopoly in check, nor to free the masses, aye not even enough to lighten considerably the weight of their misery."[122] With regard to further milder policies, Marx sums them up and brushes them aside as follows: ". . . no perfecting of machinery, no application of science to industry, no improvement of the means of communication, no new colonies, no emigration, no opening out of new markets, no free trade and not all these things put together can do away with the misery of the toiling masses . . ."[123]

The above five points, which are by no means exhaustive of Marxian tactics,[124] already show how much the founders of Scien-

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[121] Marx, "Address to the Communist League, 1850," in "Two Speeches by Karl Marx", p. 5. In regard to high wages, Marx remarks on another occasion: "...the system of wage-labor is a system of slavery..., *no matter whether the laborer's pay is better or worse."—Criticism of the Gotha Program,* p. 41; italics ours. Again, Marx, speaking of the English labor movement, declares that industry being in a flourishing condition, attempts have been made to buy the workers, to distract them from the struggle and that prolonged prosperity has demoralized the workers.—Cf. *Briefwelchwessel,* Vol. II, p. 218.

[122] Marx "Inaugural Address", in "Two Speeches by Karl Marx", p. 14. On the same page, it is stated that the development of the co-operative system on a national scale require national means and this requirement cannot be fulfilled unless the bourgeois rule is abolished. Hence the co-operative system is rejected not as a matter of principle but as a matter of tactics.

In another place, Marx points out that in the co-operative movements such as co-operative banking and labor exchange the proletariat *"gives up the task of revolutionizing the old world with its large collective weapons and on the contrary, seeks to bring about its emancipation, behind the back of society, in private ways, within the narrow bounds of its own class conditions, and, consequently, inevitably fails."—The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* pp. 20-21; italics Marx's.

[123] Marx, "Inaugural Address," in "Two Speeches by Karl Marx", p. 13.

[124] The five points concern only such tactics as have direct bearing upon the question of the overthrow of the bourgeois State. There are many others with which space does not permit us to deal. For example, in principle Marx was anti-religious but in tactics Marx never preached war on God, for such preaching would revive interest in religion anew and hinder the actual dying out of religion. So the slogan "abolition of God" belongs to Bakunin, not to Marx, and it is poor tactics from the Marxian

tific Socialism are interested in the practical side of socialism, in the tactical problems of revolution. It must not be overlooked, however, that Marxian tactics is dynamic, not static. Although its general outlines are laid down, its details are not fixed. To conclude this section, we can do no better than to quote the following passage from Lenin:

"The fundamental lines of proletarian tactic were laid down by Marx in strict conformity with the general principles of his materialist-dialectic outlook. Nothing but an objective account of the sum total of all the mutual relationships of all the classes of a given society, and consequently an account of the objective stage of development of this society with an account of the mutual relationships between it and other societies—nothing short of this can suffice for the sustaining of the right tactic of the class that forms the vanguard. Furthermore, all classes are to be regarded, not statically, but dynamically; .... At each stage of development, from moment to moment, the proletarian tactic must make due allowance for this objectively necessary dialectic of human history."[125]

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point of view. In Marxian tactics religion is "a private affair in relation to the State", although not so in relation to the party (cf. Lenin, "The Relation of the Workers' Party to Religion," *The Workers' Monthly*, February 1927, pp. 743-746). Marxian tactics like this and others are more difficult to understand than Marxian theory. Lenin has developed and extended Marxian tactics more than any other Marxist. For a summary statement of Lenin's tactics, see Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, pp. 145-160, tr. by Eden and Cedar Paul, International Publishers, New York, 1928.

[125] Lenin, "Marxism," in Engels and others, op. cit., pp. 152-153.

CHAPTER V

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. Proletarian Dictatorship and Destruction of the Bourgeois State Machinery

After the bourgeois State has been overthrown, the proletariat will become the ruling class. Hence, the State will be a proletarian State in which socialism, as will be seen later, replaces capitalism.[1] But the political task of the proletariat is not ended here. The proletariat cannot use the bourgeois State machinery for its own purposes; it must destroy this State machinery. To perform this task and to suppress the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must establish its dictatorship. Thus the proletarian State in Marxism is nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Marxian idea of proletarian dictatorship[2] is so closely connected with that of destruction of the bourgeois State machinery that we shall trace simultaneously the development of these Marxian ideas.

In *the Communist Manifesto,* there are some germs of the idea of proletarian dictatorship. The "conquest of political power by the proletariat" is included as one of the immediate aims of the communists (p. 31). But this phrase is too vague to imply the idea of proletarian dictatorship. A clearer expression is found in the following passage:

> ".... The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible".[3]

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[1] Cf. infra pp. 121-122. It is in this sense that the proletarian revolution is identical with the social or socialist revolution. One refers to the political phase and the other refers to the economic phase.

[2] "The dictatorship of the proletariat" and "proletarian dictatorship" are used interchangeably in this work.

[3] *The Communist Manifesto,* pp. 40-41.

Here, although the phrase, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is not used, the seizing and holding of political power by the proletariat is emphasized. This is interpreted both by Marxists and by critics as proletarian dictatorship.[4] Nevertheless, Marx did not point out at that time the exact form of such a dictatorship, nor the necessity of destroying the bourgeois State machinery. According to Lenin, "at this stage the problem is not yet considered as to what form, from the point of view of historical development, this replacement of the capitalistic State by the proletarian State is to assume."[5] Lenin further explains: "In 1847, in *the Communist Manifesto,* Marx was as yet only able to answer this question entirely in an abstract manner, stating the problem rather than its solution."[6]

It was from the French experience of the revolutionary years of 1848-51 that Marx, in 1850, formulated, for the first time, a more definite idea of proletarian dictatorship and, in 1852, gave birth to his theory of destroying the bourgeois State machinery by the proletariat. Let us see how he first used the term "proletarian dictatorship." In commenting on the June defeat of the French revolution (1848) Marx says:

> "The Paris proletariat was provoked and lured into the June insurrection. ... The proletariat itself did not feel the immediate need for the forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie. ... The *Moniteur* declared plainly enough that the time was passed when the republic could be induced to pay honour to the illusions of the workers; and it needed the June defeat to convince them of the truth that it was Utopian to expect even the slightest improvement of their conditions within bourgeois society. ... In the place of the reform demands ... the bold battle cry was heard: *Overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the proletariat!*"[7]

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[4] For the interpretation by Marxists, see Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* pp. 25, 27; and for the interpretation by critics, see Simkhovitch, *Marxism vs. Socialism,* p. 245.

[5] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 30.

[6] Ibid., p. 40.

[7] Marx, *Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich,* p. 40, (italics his); cf. the English translation by Kuhn, Marx, *Class Struggles in France,* p. 70. The English version of the present and next quotations is taken from Max Beer's "An Inquiry into Dictatorship, III," *The Labour Monthly,* August, 1922, pp. 116-117. By checking up the original text with Kuhn's and Beer's translations, we find that Beer's is preferable.

So far as we know, this is the first time that Marx used the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat." But here the reference to it is rather incidental. A more definite formulation of this idea awaits another occasion. Writing on the French events from June 13, 1849 to March 10, 1850, Marx, in contrast with his indictment of petty bourgeois socialism or "doctrinaire socialism", explains revolutionary socialism or communism in terms of proletarian dictatorship:

"... While the rivalry between the various socialist chiefs is going on with regard to the excellence of their so-called systems as transition stages to social reconstruction, the proletariat is rallying more and more round the revolutionary socialism, round communism, for which the bourgeoisie has invented the name of Blanquism. This socialism is *the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat, as the necessary transition stage to the abolition of all class distinctions,* the abolition of all conditions of production on which they are based, the abolition of all relations of production which correspond to those conditions of production, to the revolutionizing of all ideas which spring from those social relations."[8]

Here Marx's idea of proletarian dictatorship *as the necessary transition stage to the abolition of all class distinctions* is for the first time formulated. In 1852 when he was attacked by the German democrats in the United States for his class-struggle theory, he wrote a letter, on March 12th, to his friend, Joseph Weydemeyer, the editor of *Die Revolution* for which Marx, as already noted, wrote *the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.[9] It is in this letter that Marx restates his idea of proletarian dictatorship:

As far as I am concerned, the honor does not belong to me for either having discovered the existence of classes in modern society or their struggles with one another. Bourgeois historians had long before me shown the development of this struggle of the classes and bourgeois economists the

[8] Marx, *Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich,* pp. 93-94, italics ours; cf.. the English edition, Marx, *Class Struggles in France,* pp. 173-174 It is interesting to note that such a devoted disciple of Marx as Lenin has made no mention of this and the previous passage in his *State and Revolution.*

[9] Cf. supra, p. 35, n. 44.

economic anatomy of classes. What I added was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with certain historical struggles in the development of production; (2) that class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship is itself only a transition to the ultimate abolition of all classes and to a society without classes."[10]

Simultaneously with this reiteration of the idea of proletarian dictatorship, Marx formulated the theory of the destruction by the proletariat of the bourgeois State machinery, as a result of his further study of the French revolutionary events of 1848-51. The theory is this: While the bourgeois State, together with its machinery of government, *e. g.,* the bureaucracy and the standing army, grew up at the time of the fall of feudalism—while all former revolutions, bourgeois revolutions, helped to perfect this machinery of government, a "fearful body of parasites", instead of breaking it up—the proletarian revolution must break it to pieces, "concentrate against it all the revolutionary forces of destruction."[11] It is the first time that Marx brought out this theory which was later strengthened by the experience of the Paris Commune.

After the Paris Commune, Marx repeatedly emphasized the idea of destruction of the bourgeois State machinery. In his *Civil War in France* Marx remarks: "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machiery and wield it for its own purposes."[12] That is to say, the proletariat must destroy

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[10] *Neue Zeit,* XXV, (1906-1907), 2, pp. 164-165; italics ours.
Lenin has also quoted this letter in another edition of "the State and Revolution," see *Imperialism, The State and Revolution,* p. 40, the Vanguard Press, New York, 1926. In this edition we find a section 3 added to Chapter II, as compared with the Marxian Educational Society's edition (a reprint of the British edition). But the English version of "the State and Revolution" ("Imperialism" being a separate book but here bound together with the former), except the new section, is the same as the Marxian Educational Society's. So all of our subsequent references to "the State and Revolution" will be, as before, those to the Marxian Educational Society's edition.

[11] Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumarre of Louis Bonaparte,* pp. 141-143; *cf.* Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* pp. 29-30.

[12] Marx, *Civil War in France,* p. 39.

it. In the preface of 1872 (written jointly by Marx and Engels) to *the Communist Manifesto,* this statement is held as proved by the Commune and introduced as a vital correction into *the Communist Manifesto,*[13] since the program thereof was presumably to be carried out by the old State machinery. Yet this very statement, as we have seen, has been mistaken by Bernstein and others as Marx's idea of gradual development in contrast with the sudden seizure of power by the proletariat.[14] But it was so clearly explained, as noticed by Lenin,[15] both by Marx and Engels on different occasions that the opposite interpretation given by Bernstein and others seems to be nothing short of distortion. In his letter to Kugelmann (dated April 12, 1871), Marx writes:

"If you look at the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire,* you will find that I declare the next attempt of the French revolution to be: *not merely to hand over, from one to another, the bureaucratic and military machine* (italics ours) — as has occurred hitherto — but to *SHATTER* (Marx's emphasis) it; and this is the preliminary condition of any real people's revolution on the Continent. This, too, is the attempt of our heroic Parisian comrades."[16]

In his Introduction (1891) to Marx's *Civil War in France,* Engels states:

"The Commune had to recognize right from the beginning that the working class, once come to power, cannot continue to operate *(fortwirtschaften)* with the old State machine; that this working class, in order not to lose its own rule which it just conquered, must, on the one hand, *do away with all the old machinery of oppression hitherto utilized against itself,* on the other hand, however, secure itself against its own deputies and officials by declaring them, without exception, removable at any time."[17]

According to the above utterances of Marx and Engels, the statement that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the

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[13] Cited in *the Communist Manifesto,* Engels's Preface of 1888, p. 9.
[14] Cf. supra, p. 73.
[15] Cf. Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* pp. 37-38, 80-81.
[16] *Neue Zeit,* XX (1901-1902), 1, p. 709, tr. in *the Communist Monthly,* March, 1927, pp. 51-52.
[17] Tr. in *the Communist Monthly,* March, 1927, p. 49; italics ours.

ready-made State machinery and wield it for its own purposes" cannot mean anything else but the necessity for destruction of the bourgeois State machinery.

However, in Marx's letter to Kugelmann, two points should be noticed. First, Marx excepted England. Secondly, Marx used the phrase "people's revolution" instead of proletarian revolution. As to the first point, Lenin explains:

"This was natural in 1871, when England was still the pattern of a purely capitalist country, without a military machine and, in large measure, without a bureaucracy. . . .

"To-day in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this distinction of Marx's becomes unreal, and England and America, the greatest and last representatives of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty', in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have to-day completely rolled down into the dirty, bloody morass of military-bureaucratic institutions common to all Europe, subordinating all else to themselves, crushing all else under themselves. To-day, both in England and in America, the 'preliminary condition of any real people's revolution' is the breaking up, the shattering of the 'available ready machinery of the State' (perfected in those countries between 1914-1917, up to the 'European,' general imperialist standard)."[18]

With regard to the "people's revolution" which is "strange on Marx's lips,"[19] Lenin also says:

"On the Continent of Europe, in 1871, the proletariat did not in a single country constitute the majority of the people. A 'people's' revolution, actually sweeping the majority into its current, could be such only if embracing both the proletariat and the peasantry. Both classes then constituted the 'people.' Both classes are united by the circumstance that the 'military and bureaucratic machinery of the State' oppresses, crushes, exploits them. *To shatter this* machinery, *to break it up*—this is the true interest of the 'people,' of its majority—the workers, and most of the peasants —this is the 'preliminary condition' of a union of the poorest peasantry with the proletarians..."[20]

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[18] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* pp. 38-39. Joseph Stalin, the disciple of Lenin, gives the same explanation, cf. Stalin, *Leninism,* pp. 116-117.

[19] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 39.

[20] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

As to why the bourgeois State machinery has to be destroyed, Lenin further states: "A republic of the parliamentary bourgeois type strangles and crushes the independent political life of the masses, prevents the masses from taking a direct part in the democratic up-building of the governmental activity from below"; and it is easy to revert from such a republic "to a monarchy (as history proves), as all the machinery of repression is left undisturbed: army, police, bureaucracy."[21]

To sum up: from the experience both of the French revolution of 1848-51 and of the Commune, Marx laid down the principle that the proletariat should not confine itself merely to taking possession of the ready-made military and bureaucratic machinery of the State, but should shatter it, destroy it. This principle constitutes one of the tenets of Marxism and has been further elaborated by Lenin.

2. Form of Proletarian Dictatorship and the Paris Commune

In 1850-52, in spite of the definite formulation of the idea of proletarian dictatorship and of the theory of destroying the bourgeois State machinery, Marx said nothing about what was to replace the bourgeois State machinery that had to be destroyed, or what form proletarian dictatorship would take. "Experience had not as yet yielded material data sufficient for the solution of such a problem."[22] Just as it strengthened the idea of destruction of the bourgeois State machinery, the Paris Commune of 1871 furnished the data for the solution of the problem of the form of proletarian dictatorship. Let us note, then, the political form of the Paris Commune, which was much admired by Marx.

The Commune, says Marx, "was a thoroughly expansive political form, while all previous forms of government had been emphatically repressive. *Its true secret was this. It was essentially a working-class government, the produce of the struggle of the*

[21] Lenin, "The New Type of Government," in Lenin and Trotsky, *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia* (edited by Louis C. Fraina), p. 83, the Communist Press, New York, 1918.

[22] Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, p. 33.

producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered, under which to work out the economical emancipation of Labor."[23] It was "the direct antithesis to the Empire", it was the positive form of a republic "that was not only to supersede the monarchical form of class-rule, but class-rule itself."[24]

What was "the political form at last discovered" for the proletarian State? How was it created? To answer these questions, we can do nothing better than to quote Marx's own description of the Commune. It will be necessary, therefore, to take a long excursion before we can point out exactly in what form the Commune was a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx describes the Commune as follows:

"... Paris could resist only because, in consequence of the siege, it had got rid of the army and replaced it by a National Guard, the bulk of which consisted of working men. This fact was now to be transformed into an institution. The first decree of the Commune, therefore, was the suppression of the standing army and the substitution for it of the armed people.

"The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class. The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time. Instead of continuing to be the agent of the Central Government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the Administration. From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at *workmen's wages*. (Marx's italics). The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of State disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves...

"Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old Government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the 'parson-power', by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietory bodies... the whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of Church and State. Thus, not

[23] Marx, *Civil War in France*, p. 48; italics ours.
[24] Ibid., p. 42.

only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it.

"The judicial functionaries were to be divested of that sham independence which had but served to mask their abject subserviency to all succeeding governments to which, in turn, they had taken, and broken, the oath of allegiance. Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible, and revocable."[25]

Such is the story of the formation of the Government of the Commune, which government was, of course, a local one. In order to have a discussion of the government for an entire proletarian State, let us make a survey of the Commune's plan of national organization. Again we have to quote from Marx:

"The Paris Commune was, of course, to serve as a model to all the great industrial cenres of France. The Communal *regime* once established in Paris and the secondary centres, the old centralized Government would in the provinces, too, have to give way to the self-government of the producers. In a rough sketch of national organization which the Commune had no time to develop, it states clearly that the Commune was to be the political form of even the smallest country hamlet, and that in the rural districts the standing army was to be replaced by a national militia, with an extremely short term of service. The rural communes of every district were to administer their common affairs by an assembly of delegates in the central town, and these district assemblies were again to send deputies to the National Delegation in Paris, each delegate to be at any time revocable and bound by the *mandat imperatif* (formal instructions) of his constituents. The few but important functions which still would remain for a central government were not to be suppressed, as has been intentionally misstated, but were to be discharged by Communal, and therefore strictly responsible agents. The unity of the nation was not to be broken; but, on the contrary, to be organized by the Communal constitution, and to become a reality by the destruction of the State power which claimed to be the embodiment of that unity independent of, and superior to, the nation itself, from which it was but a parasitic excrescence. While the merely repressive organs of the old governmental power were to be amputated, its legitimate functions were to be wrested from an authority usurping pre-eminence over society itself, and restored to the responsible agents of society. Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling

[25] Marx, *Civil War in France,* pp. 43-44.

class was to represent the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workmen and managers in his business..."[26]

In Marx's description of the Commune and its national plan, several things are worth noticing. In the first place, there were the abolition of the standing army and the substitution for it of the armed people, armed workingmen. Added to this, there was the taking away from the police of its political attributes; thus all repressive forces were done away with.

In the second place, the Communal council of working-class representatives, although based upon universal suffrage, was not a parliamentary body, but a working body, executive and legislative at the same time. In other words, parliamentarism, in the sense of a legislature distinct from other branches of the government, was destroyed. Marx was much opposed to such parliamentarism, and spoke of the mixed feature of the Commune with great appreciation. This mixture of the legislature and the executive, plus the abolition of the judicial independence, made the Commune different from the usual three-power form of constitutional government.

In the third place, the offices of all public servants of the Commune from its members downwards were elective and revocable, and paid at workingmen's wages. This fact, together with the abolition of vested interests and representation allowances, destroyed the bureaucracy.

In the fourth place, all churches were disestablished and disendowed as proprietary bodies.

In the fifth place, the Commune was to be the basic form of government; the delegates of local communes were to constitute district assemblies whose deputies were to constitute the National Delegation in Paris. This pyramidal form of government was the forerunner of the Soviet system.[27]

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[26] Marx, *Civil War in France*, pp. 44-46.

[27] Lenin says: "They (the Soviets) reproduce the type of government established by the Paris Commune."—"The New Type of Government," in Lenin and Trotsky, op. cit., p. 83.

In the sixth place, the unity of the nation was not to be broken, but to be organized by the Communal structure and "to become a realty by the destruction of the State power". It should be noted that "Marx is not speaking here at all of Federalism as opposed to Centralism, but of the destruction of the old capitalist machinery of government which exists in all bourgeois countries."[28] Both Marx and Engels are centralists, particularly, democratic centralists.[29] It is these six features that differentiate the Commune from the bourgeois government or State.

Now, through our long excursion we find that the Commune was a council of workers, both executive and legislative, and that the national or central government was to be a pyramid of such Communes or Councils. Such is, according to Marx, the political form that should replace the bourgeois State machinery.

3. Was the Paris Commune a Proletarian Dictatorship?

While we have shown that, according to Marx, the Paris Commune was the political form of the proletarian State, we have taken for granted that it was, in his eyes, a proletarian dictatorship also. But was the Commune, in the view of Marx, really a proletarian dictatorship? He does not use this phrase in his *Civil War in France*. On the contrary, he says that the Commune "supplied the Republic with the basis of really democratic institutions."[30] In his letter (April 12, 1871) to Kugelmann, already referred to, Marx even states that it was the error of the Central Committee to give up its power too soon to the Communal Council. To quote:

"They (Parisian comrades) should have marched on Versailles at once after Vinoy, then the reactionary part of Parisian National Guard had quit the field of their own accord. The right moment was missed because of qualms of conscience... *Second error: The Central Committee gave up its*

[28] Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, p. 53. Marx himself remarks: "The communal consitution has been mistaken for an attempt to break up into a Federation of small States. ... The antagonism of the Commune against the State power has been mistaken for an exaggerated form of the ancient struggle against over-centralization."—*Civil War in France*, p. 46.

[29] Cf. infra, Chapter VI, Sec. 4.

[30] Marx, *Civil War in France*, p. 48.

power too soon in order to make room for the Commune. Again because of a too 'honorable' scrupulousness. Be that as it may, the present uprising of Paris ... is the most glorious deed of our Party since June insurrection."[31]

It is on the basis of what Marx calls the second error that some modern commentators like Max Beer maintain that "Marx never regarded the Commune as a dictatorial form of government."[32] According to Max Beer, "The retention of power by the Central Committee . . . would have meant a dictatorship, while the administration of the Commune which issued from a municipal *general election was a regular local authority . . .*"[33] But Marx made his criticism from the standpoint of military strategy, as a perusal of the preceding statement will show. Here Marx is not talking about proletarian dictatorship in general—a transition State to the abolition of classes—but is dealing with the military tactics which the Communards should have pursued in the midst of their revolution. Proletarian dictatorship in general is the form of the proletarian State or government *after the proletarian revolution has already succeeded.* Beer's last statement that the Commune which issued from a municipal general election was "a regular local authority" is entirely contrary to the view of Marx, for the features of the Commune, as he described them in the statements already quoted, show how different it was, not only from "a regular local authority" but from the "regular" government. It may be recalled that the Commune was "not only to supersede the monarchical form of class-rule, but class-rule itself."[34] What Marx really means by the "second error" is simply this: The Communards were too anxious to establish at once the *regular* proletarian government; they should have postponed this step and concentrated their energy to fight against the Republican army first. As to the Communal form of government

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[31] Tr. in *the Communist Monthly,* March 1927, p. 52; italics ours.

[32] Max Beer, "The Testament of Engels," *The Labour Monthly,* April-May 1922, p. 367.

[33] "An Inquiry into Dictatorship, III," *The Labour Monthly,* August, 1922, p. 120; italics ours.

[34] Cf. supra p. 95.

itself (the Council), Marx, as already shown, expressed his highest admiration.

The point thus becomes clear that Marx's second criticism of the Communards does not necessarily mean that he regarded the Communal Council simply as "a regular local authority" and not as a *regular* proletarian government. But we have not hitherto offered positive evidence that Marx regarded the Commune as a proletarian dictatorship. This evidence must now be presented. During his controversy with the Anti-Authoritarians, Marx referred to the Commune as the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat in the following words: "Workers put in the place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie . . . their revolutionary dictatorship . . . in order to break down the resistance of the bourgeoisie . . . the workers invest the State with a revolutionary and temporary form . . ."[35] Participating in the same controversy, Engels queries: "Had the Paris Commune not relied on the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie, would it have lasted longer than a single day?"[36] On another occasion Engels even asks the German "philistine" to look at the Commune if he wants to know how proletarian dictatorship looks[37] .

We have shown that both Marx and Engels regarded the Commune as a proletarian dictatorship. But in what respects was it, in their view, a proletarian dictatorship? Certain features of the Commune, such as the abolition of the standing army and the police and the confiscation of church property, were dictatorial

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[35] Marx, "Der politische Indifferentismus," *Neue Zeit,* XXXII (1913-1914), 1, p. 40. It was first published in 1873 in the Italian socialist review *Plebe.*

[36] Engels, "Uber das Autoritätsprinzip," *Neue Zeit,* XXXII (1913-1914), 1, p. 39.

[37] "The German philistine has recently been struck with wholesome fear again at the word: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well, then, Gentlemen, do you want to know how this dictatorship looks? Then look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat."—Engels's "Introduction to Marx's Civil War in France," tr. in *the Communist Monthly,* March, 1927, p. 50.

Hence Riazanov is correct when he refers to the Paris Commune as the first experiment in the dictatorship of the proletariat. Cf. his *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,* pp. 190-191.

measures. So Marx, Engels and Lenin have all taken it for granted that the description of the Commune in the *Civil War in France,* would itself show the nature of proletarian dictatorship. It is Trotsky who has pointed out exactly wherein the Commune bore out the character of proletarian dictatorship. Since even such an authority on socialism as Max Beer overlooks this character of the Commune, it is worth while to quote Trotsky.

"The Commune," says Trotsky, "as is known, abolished the regular army and the police, and decreed the confiscation of church property. It did this *in the right of the revolutionary dictatorship of Paris, without the permission of the general democracy of the State,* which at that moment formally had found a much more 'lawful' expression in the National Assembly of Thiers."[38] Again, "no democracy expressing all classes was actually to be found in the Paris Commune. The bourgeois deputies . . . found no place in it."[39] In other words, it had its proletarian character; it was exclusively a working-class government against the bourgeoisie. Indeed, "the Commune was the living negation of formal democracy, for in its development it signified the dictatorship of working class Paris over the peasant country." All that it did was done "in virtue of the revolutionary dictatorship."[40]

Such was the Commune's dictatorship of the proletariat. But since the Commune as a government was nothing but a Council

[38] Leon Trotsky, *Dictatorship vs. Democracy* (written in 1920 as a reply to Kautsky's *Terrorism and Communism*), p. 93, The Workers' Party, New York, 1922; italics ours. The original title of this book is the same as Kautsky's, namely, "Terrorism and Communism". It was translated and printed in London in 1921 by the Labour Publishing Co., under the title of "The Defence of Terrorism". According to the publishers' note, the title was changed "in order to avoid confusion." In the American edition, the title, as shown above, is again changed into "Dictatorship vs. Democracy". Although in both the British and the American edition the title is followed by "(Terrorism and Communism)", the same book with three different titles does not and cannot avoid confusion. Consequently such a well known writer as H. J. Laski has listed "Terrorism and Communism" and "Defence of Terrorism" as two different works of Trotsky in his bibliography on communism.—Cf. Laski, *Communism,* p. 253.

All our citations from this book of Trotsky's are taken from the American edition.

[39] Trotsky, *Dictatorship vs. Democracy,* p. 82.

[40] Ibid., p. 84.

of workers and since the planned national government was to be a pyramid of such Communes, then *proletarian dictatorship in the form of Communes or Councils* is the "political form at last discovered, under which to work out the economical emancipation of Labor."

CHAPTER VI

THE THEORY OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. Proletarian Dictatorship and Proletarian Democracy

As Marx himself refers to the Paris Commune sometimes as "really democratic" and sometimes as the "revolutionary dictatorship", we shall now inquire whether this is a contradiction, whether a proletarian dictatorship can be at the same time a proletarian democracy.

The term dictatorship is usually applied when the one who dictates[1] is an individual or a small group of individuals, and those who are dictated to, regardless of their will, are the people at large.[2] But the dictatorship of the proletariat has a different meaning, *i. e.*, that the dictator is the whole proletarian class, the majority of the people, while those who are ruled under such a dictatorship are simply the bourgeois class, the minority of the people. In other words, the dictatorship of the proletariat is applied *in respect not to the people at large but to the bourgeoisie only,* for it will be meaningless with reference to the people at large since the proletariat who dictates constitutes the majority of the people. Dictatorship in this sense—in the sense of domination of the minority by the majority—distinguishes itself from

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[1] Etymologically one who dictates is one whose word is law, see *The Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Vol. 8, p. 185, 11th edition, Cambridge University Press, London, 1910.

[2] The word dictator originated with the Romans. A dictator was a temporary and extraordinary magistrate; "he might have full freedom of action" and "he could dispose of the liberty, the property and the lives of *all citizens.*" According to partisans of the modern type of dictatorship, "at certain moments of crisis or demoralization it is necessary for society to bethink itself, and *personify itself in a single man or in an energetic and moral group of men.*"—See *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States,* Vol. I, p. 802, edited by John J. Labor, A. H. Andrews and Co., Chicago, 1886. Italics ours.

all ordinary dictatorships.[3]

Under proletarian dictatorship there is also democracy within the proletariat itself, democracy in the sense of representative institutions[4] which exist side by side with the dictatorship. Lenin explains:

"A dictatorship does not necessarily mean the abrogation of democracy for that class which wields it against the other class, but it necessarily means the abrogation, or at least an essential restriction, of democracy for that class against which the dictatorship is wielded."[5]

Therefore there is no contradiction between proletarian dictatorship and proletarian democracy.* It is with reference to the bourgeoisie that the proletarian State is a proletarian dictatorship, and it is with reference to the proletariat that the proletarian State is a proletarian democracy. Lenin states:

"*Together* (Lenin's emphasis) with an immense expansion of democracy —for the first time becoming democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich folk—the dictatorship of the proletariat will produce a series of restrictions of liberty in the case of the oppressors, exploiters and capitalists."[6]

Lenin reiterates this idea in the same work:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat ... will, for the first time, produce

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[3] Max Beer defines dictatorship as "the exercise of quasi absolute governmental power *by a single person or a limited number of persons* in times of national or social emergency.—"An Inquiry into Dictatorship, I," *the Labour Monthly,* June 1922, p. 399; italics ours. This is a correct definition of an *ordinary* dictatorship. But Max Beer, beginning with this single definition, proceeds to discuss proletarian dictatorship, as well as the Roman, Cromwell, Jacobin dictatorships, the proletarian type being his main thesis. Evidently he does not realize that proletarian dictatorship in the Marxian theory is to be exercised by the proletariat as a class. As a result, his discussion of proletarian dictatorship is the most unsatisfactory part of his Inquiry.

[4] "Without representative institutions we cannot imagine a Democracy, even a proletarian Democracy."—Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 49.

[5] Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade* (written in 1918 as a reply to Kautsky's *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*), p. 14, Contemporary Publishing Association (?), 1920. The translator and the place of publication are unknown. For the sake of brevity, this brochure will be hereafter referred to simply as "The Proletarian Revolution."

[6] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 93.

a democracy for the people, for the majority, side by side with the necessary suppression of the minority constituted by the exploiters."[7]

In another place, he again expresses the same idea:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat must be a State that embodies a new kind of democracy, for the proletarians and the dispossessed; and a new kind of dictatorship, against the bourgeoisie."[8]

Thus the proletarian dictatorship necessarily implies a proletarian democracy. Conversely, the bourgeois democracy, from the standpoint of Marxists, implies a bourgeois dictatorship,[9] that is, that the bourgeoisie dictates all governmental policies regardless of the will of the proletariat, because the latter is practically debarred from participating in politics.[10] Bourgeois democracy, says Bukharin, "is invariably a veiled form of bourgeois dictatorship."[11]

The Marxian idea that proletarian dictatorship is at the same time proletarian democracy can be summed up in the following diagram (see p. 106, Fig. 1). The circle represents the proletarian State; the space enclosed in it, the population, of which the proletariat constitutes the majority (space below the line AB),[12] and the bourgeoisie, the minority (space above the line AB). The bourgeoisie lives under the dictatorship of the proletariat, while the proletariat exercises democracy within itself. This is

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[7] Ibid., p. 95.

[8] Cited in Stalin, *Leninism,* p. 115.

[9] According to Lenin, the bourgeois State is always "the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie", no matter what form of government it has.—Cf. infra p. 112.

[10] With reference to bourgeois democracy, Lenin remarks: "... The modern wage-slaves, in virtue of the conditions of capitalist exploitation, remain to such an extent crushed by want and poverty that they 'cannot be bothered with democracy,' have 'no time for politics;' that in the ordinary peaceful course of events, the majority of the population is debarred from participating in public political life."—*The State and Revolution,* p. 92.

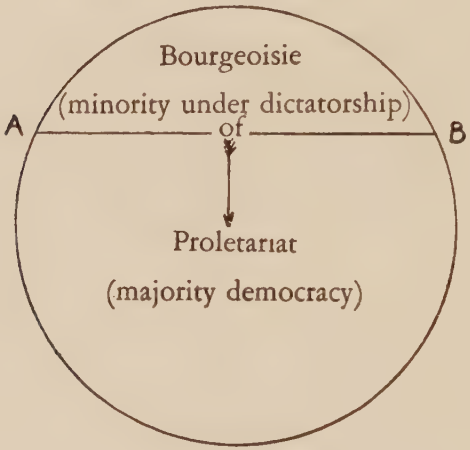
[11] N. Bukharin, "A Programme of Marxism" (prepared as a draft program for the Third International), *The Labour Monthly,* February, 1923, p. 85.

[12] Here, as in all the following diagrams, the term "proletariat" is used in its broadest sense, *i. e.,* in the sense of the working masses, including the peasants as well as the workers.

why the Commune was a dictatorship and at the same time a democracy, why proletarian dictatorship is also proletarian democracy.

Fig. 1

Proletarian Dictatorship



2. Nature and Necessity of Proletarian Dictatorship.

In the foregoing, we have made it clear that proletarian dictatorship is proletarian democracy. But what is the necessary aspect of proletarian dictatorship? In what measures does it consist?

Since proletarian dictatorship, as already pointed out, is adopted in respect to the bourgeoisie, its necessary aspect must be the forcible suppression of the latter, to accomplish which all its measures are intended. Engels remarks that the victorious proletariat should inspire the reactionaries with fear and maintain its authority against the bourgeoisie.[13] Lenin declares: "What forms a necessary aspect, or a necessary condition, of dictator-

[13] Cf. Engels, "Uber das Autoritätsprinzip," *Neue Zeit,* XXXII (1913-1914), 1, p. 39.

ship is the forcible suppression of the exploiters as a class."[14]

Proletarian dictatorship is, therefore, the "scientifically precise designation for that task of the proletariat in 'breaking up' the bourgeois State machine".[15] It is "an authority shared with none else and relying directly under the armed force of the masses."[16] Thus Lenin gives its formal definition as follows: "The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is an authority maintained by the proletariat by means of force over and against the bourgeoisie, and not bound by any laws."[17]

As we have found out what proletarian dictatorship is, we shall further inquire whether it is necessary for the revolutionary proletariat to adopt a dictatorship, whether proletarian dictatorship is to be a permanent or temporary institution and whether it has any constructive purpose.

As early as 1850, as noted before, Marx considered proletarian dictatorship as the *necessary transition* stage to the abolition of all classes, to the creation of a new society.[18] According to the class-domination theory of the State, a transition stage to the abolition of classes would be one from the State to a non-State, *i. e.*, a stateless-communistic society, since a State will not exist without classes.[19] So Marx declared in 1873, as we recall, that upon the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, the State is invested with a revolutionary and *temporary* form.[20] In 1875 when criti-

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[14] Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution,* p. 40.

[15] Ibid., p. 12.

[16] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 27.

[17] Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution,* p. 15. This definition reaffirms that the Commune was a proletarian dictatorship, because it did "break up the bourgeois State machine" and it did maintain its authority by the armed workers for the purpose of crushing the bourgeoisie, regardless of laws (cf. supra, pp. 95, 101).

Trotsky also regards proletarian dictatorship as "a regime in which the ruling class is guided, not by general principles calculated for a prolonged period, but by considerations of revolutionary policy."—See his *Dictatorship vs. Democracy,* p. 20.

[18] Cf. supra p. 90.

[19] As pointed out before, Marx regards the abolition of the State as the necessary result of the abolition of the classes.—Cf. supra pp. 58-59.

[20] Cf. supra p. 100.

cizing the Gotha Program, he stated this theory in a more clear-cut, more systematic way. "Between the capitalist and the communist systems of society," says Marx, "lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, *whose State can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*"[21] Here proletarian dictatorship is considered as a State, a transition State from capitalism to communism. In other words, proletarian dictatorship, together with the State itself, will vanish when complete communism emerges.

Engels held the same theory. In 1872 he mentioned proletarian dictatorship as the "transition towards the abolition of classes and, together with them, of the State."[22] Again, in 1875 he referred to the proletarian State as "a transitional institution which we are obliged to use in the revolutionary struggle in order to forcibly crush our opponents" and pointed out that the proletariat needs the State not "in the interests of freedom but in the interests of crushing its antagonists."[23] In 1891, just a few years before he died, Engels had advocated proletarian dictatorship as the only form in which the working class could exercise political power.[24]

Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin have further elaborated this theory. Lenin regards proletarian dictatorship as the fulfillment of "the

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[21] Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program,* p. 48; italics ours.

[22] Engels, *Zur Wohungsfragen,* p. 55.

[23] Engels, Letter to Bebel, March 1875, in A. Bebel, *Aus meinen Leben,* Vol. II, p. 322, Berlin, 1911.

[24] "They (Marx and Engels) have coined the phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat' which Engels defended shortly before his death in 1891, as expressing the fact that only through purely proletarian political domination can the working class exercise its power."—Kautsky, *The Road to Power,* p. 12; cf. the German edition, *Der Weg zur Macht,* p. 20. Here we have substituted the word dictatorship for the word dictation in the English translation, because we think "dictatorship" is more nearly equivalent to the German word *Diktatur* than "dictation".

Kautsky has made the above statement probably with reference to Engels's Introduction to Marx's *Civil War in France.* This Introduction is dated 1891 and therein Engels, as noted before, regards the Paris Commune as proletarian dictatorship.

Drahn remarks on Engels: "He (Engels), too, remained true to his ideas of class struggle and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, no matter how much others attempt to deny this."—Drahn, *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels über die Diktatur des Proletariats,* pp. 18-19.

revolutionary part to be played in history by the proletariat."[25] It is necessary "both for the purpose of crushing the resistance of the exploiters and for the purpose of guiding the great mass of the population—the peasantry, the lower middle-class, the semi-proletariat—in the work of economic Socialist reconstruction."[26] It is from the standpoint of the latter purpose that "the dictatorship does not mean force alone," but also "betokens a higher organization of labour than has previously existed."[27] Hence the purpose of proletarian dictatorship is two-fold: suppression of the bourgeoisie and establishment of socialism. One is destructive, and the other is constructive. One is political and the other is economic.

Speaking of the destructive phase, Lenin further declares:

"Progressive development—that is, towards Communism—marches through the dictatorship of the proletariat; and cannot do otherwise, for there is no one else who can *break the resistance* of the exploiting capitalists, and no other way of doing it."[28]

"During the *transition* from Capitalism to Communism, suppression is *still* necessary. ... A special instrument, a special machine for suppression, —that is, the 'State'—is necessary, but this is now a transitional State, no longer a State in the ordinary sense of the term."[29]

Suppression is necessary not only because of the resistance of the capitalists, but because of their *greater* resistance after their defeat:

"After the first serious defeat the overthrown exploiters ... will with tenfold energy, with mad passion, and with a hate intensified to an extreme degree, throw themselves into the fray in order to get back their lost paradise for themselves and their families, who formerly led such a pleasant life, and who are now condemned by the 'rascals,' the 'mob,' to ruin or penury (or 'ordinary' labor). And these capitalist exploiters will neces-

[25] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 28.

[26] Ibid., p. 27.

[27] Cited in Stalin, op. cit., p. 27.

[28] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 93; italics Lenin's. Similar reasons for proletarian dictatorship are also found in Lenin, *Soviets at Work,* (written in 1918), p. 30, 5th edition, Rand School of Social Science, New York, 1919.

[29] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 95; italics Lenin's.

sarily be followed by a wide stream of the petty bourgeoisie. ..."[30]

Hence, from the destructive point of view, "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the fiercest and most merciless war of the new class against its more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose power of resistance increases tenfold after its overthrow, even though overthrown in only one country."[31]

With regard to the constructive phase of proletarian dictatorship, Lenin further states:

"The purpose of the dictatorship is to establish socialism, to put an end to the division of society into classes, to make all the members of society workers, to make the exploitation of one human being by another for ever impossible. This end cannot be achieved at one stride. ... The reorganization of production is a difficult matter. Time is requisite for the radical transformation of all departments of life."[32]

From the destructive point of view, Trotsky writes:

"The dictatorship is necessary because it is a case, not of partial changes, but of the very existence of the bourgeoisie. No agreement is possible on this ground. Only force can be the deciding factor."[33]

"... The road to Socialism lies through a period of the highest possible intensification of the principle of the State. ... Just as a lamp, before going out, shoots up in a brilliant flame, so the State, before disappearing, assumes the form of the dictatorship of the proletarian, *i. e.*, the most ruthless form of State. ..."[34]

From the constructive point of view, Trotsky is equally emphatic upon the necessity of proletarian dictatorship. To him, "It is beyond question that to step from bourgeois anarchy to Socialist economy without a revolutionary dictatorship, and without compulsory forms of economic organization, is impossible."[35]

Stalin, who follows Lenin's theory of proletarian dictatorship very closely, describes three fundamental aspects of this dictator-

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[30] Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution*, p. 37.
[31] Lenin, *"Left" Communism, An Infantile Disorder* (written in 1920, translation undated and publishers unknown) p. 6.
[32] Cited in Stalin, op. cit., p. 27.
[33] Trotsky, op. cit., p. 20.
[34] Ibid., pp. 169-170.
[35] Ibid., p. 139.

ship as follows:

"1. The use of the power of the proletariat in order to crush the exploiters, in order to defend the country, in order to strengthen the ties with proletarians in other lands, and in order to favour the revolution everywhere.

"2. The use of the power of the proletariat in order to detach the labouring and exploited masses once for all from the bourgeoisie, in order to strengthen the alliance of the proletariat with these masses, in order to enlist these masses in the work of socialist construction, and in order to ensure that in the State the proletariat shall function as leader of these masses.

"3. The use of the power of the proletariat in order to organize socialism, abolish classes, and found a society without classes and without a State."[36]

The first aspect is the destructive phase of proletarian dictatorship and the last two constitute its constructive phase. As a matter of fact, Stalin, on another occasion, speaks of only two aims of proletarian dictatorship: "The first aim of the dictatorship is to break the resistance of the defeated exploiters. Next, it must lead the revolution onward to the final victory, to the complete triumph of socialism."[37]

To sum up: Proletarian dictatorship refers to the forcible suppression of the bourgeoisie, which is necessary because of the bourgeoisie's resistance. Yet it does not consist in this destructive phase alone; it has as its constructive phase the establishment of socialism.[38] It lasts only so long as complete socialism, or communism, is not realized. Hence it is a temporary, transitional institution. It is this transitional dictatorship that, as we have seen, constitutes one of the differences between communism and anarchism.[39]

Such is the Marxian conception of the nature and necessity of

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[36] Stalin, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

[37] Stalin, op. cit., p. 110.

[38] It should be noticed here that, in the statements of Marx and Engels on proletarian dictatorship, the constructive phase is implied rather than expressly stated, and that it has been brought out more clearly by modern communist leaders, particularly Lenin.

[39] Cf. supra p. 62.

proletarian dictatorship. Now we shall proceed to compare the proletarian State as represented by proletarian dictatorship with the bourgeois State which is also a dictatorship.[40]

3. The Proletarian State vs. the Bourgeois State

In order to contrast the proletarian State with the bourgeois State, it is necessary to examine the Marxian idea of the classification of forms of the State.

Marx, as noted above, regards proletarian dictatorship as a State, as a transition State from capitalism to communism. Lenin insists that it is a form of State, not a form of government. To him, "a dictatorship means a 'state' of revolutionary violence of one class against another."[41] Hence:

> "Dictatorship is not a 'form of government.' This is ridiculous nonsense. And Marx himself speaks not of a form of *government* (Lenin's emphasis), but of a form or type of State. This is altogether a different thing."[42]

So with the bourgeois dictatorship, which is simply a type of the State, whether it be a monarchy or a republic:

> "It is doubly and trebly stupid to speak in this connection of forms of government, since every child knows that monarchy and republic are two different forms of government. Yet Kautsky pretends not to know that these two forms of government, as well as all transitional forms of government under Capitalism, are but so many varieties of the bourgeois State, that is, of the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.*"[43]

Thus there are to-day only two types of State, bourgeois and proletarian. Bourgeois dictatorship is the bourgeois State and proletarian dictatorship is the proletarian State. Since the bourgeois State, as we have seen, must be overthrown by revolution, irrespective of its form of government, the proletarian State cannot flow from the bourgeois State, even from bourgeois de-

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[40] It should be recalled that even bourgeois democracy implies bourgeois dictatorship.—Cf. supra p. 105.

[41] Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution,* p. 16.

[42] Ibid., p. 21.

[43] Ibid., p. 17; italics Lenin's.

mocracy—it must be a newly-built State.[44] It is for this reason that proletarian dictatorship goes hand in hand with the destruction of the bourgeois State machinery.

As proletarian dictatorship is a type of State, it retains the fundamental nature of the State, *e. g.,* "the organ of class domination, the organ of oppression of one class by another."[45] Only now in the proletarian State the class to be oppressed, to be held down, is "naturally, the exploiting class, *i. e.,* the bourgeoisie."[46]

There are, nevertheless, two differences between the bourgeois State and the proletarian State. In the first place, the former is a special instrument for the suppression of the majority by the minority, while the latter is a special instrument for the suppression of the minority by the majority.[47] It is due to the suppression of the majority by the minority in the bourgeois State that the bourgeoisie maintains its machinery of government, including its special repressive force, while it is due to the suppression of the minority by the majority in a proletarian State that the whole population, in place of special repressive force, comes on the scene.[48] In the second place, the bourgeois State must be destroyed by revolution, but the proletarian State will "wither away".[49]

It is because of these differences that Engels, criticizing the idea of a "free people's State" contained in the Gotha Program,

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[44] "The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a change of ministry, but a new State, with new central and local administrative organs; *it is a proletarian State which rises like the phoenix out of the ashes of the old bourgeois State.*"—Stalin, op. cit., p. 114; italics ours.

[45] Cf. supra p. 48. "...the dictatorship of the proletariat does not differ fundamentally from the dictatorship of any other class, seeing that the proletarian State is an instrument used to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie."—Stalin, op. cit., p. 115.

[46] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 26.

[47] Ibid., p. 95; cf. Stalin, op. cit., p. 115.

[48] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 69.

[49] "The substitution of a proletarian for the capitalist State is impossible without a violent revolution, while the abolition of the proletarian State, that is, of all States, is only possible through 'withering away'."—Ibid., p. 23. For the theory of the withering-away of the proletarian State, see infra Chapter VII.

declares that the Paris Commune was "no longer a State in the proper sense of the word" and suggests that the word *Gemeinwesen* (Commonwealth) should replace the word State when the State is under proletarian control.[50] So Lenin remarks, as already noted, that the proletarian State is "a transitional State, no longer a State in the ordinary sense of the term."[51]

On account of the first difference, proletarian democracy is unlike bourgeois democracy. The one is democracy for the poor, for the majority[52] and the other is democracy for the rich, for the minority.[53] "The proletarian democracy and its organs which realize the broadest democracy amongst the workers are in incomparably closer relations with the masses and enable them to take part in the administrative process",[54] while there is not a single bourgeois State, "however democratic, which does not contain loopholes or limiting clauses in its constitution which guarantee the bourgeoisie the legal possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of the disturbance of public order, that is, in case of 'disturbance' by the servile class of its servile condition, and of attempts to strike up a non-servile attitude."[55]

Moreover, in proletarian democracy universal suffrage is made "to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workmen and managers in his business", while in bourgeois democracy the

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[50] Cf. Engels, Letter to Bebel, in Bebel, op. cit., p. 322.

[51] Cf. supra p. 109.

[52] Cf. supra pp. 104-105.

[53] "... In capitalist society, we have a democracy that is curtailed, wretched, false; a democracy only for the rich, for the minority."—Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 95. In another place, Lenin speaks of bourgeois democracy as "a paradise for the rich and a trap and a delusion for the exploited and for the poor."—*The Proletarian Revolution,* p. 24.

Stalin, following Lenin, defines capitalist democracy as "the democracy of the exploiting minority, based upon a restriction of the rights of the exploited majority and directed against that majority", and proletarian democracy as "the democracy of the exploited majority, based upon a restriction of the rights of the exploiting minority and directed against that minority."—Stalin, op. cit., p. 116.

[54] Bukharin, "A Programme of Marxism," *The Labour Monthly,* February, 1923, p. 85.

[55] Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution,* p. 25.

proletariat can only decide every few years which member of the ruling class is to represent the people in parliament.[56] Hence "Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy".[57]

The Marxian idea of the contrast between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy may be illustrated as follows:

Fig. 2
Proletarian Democracy

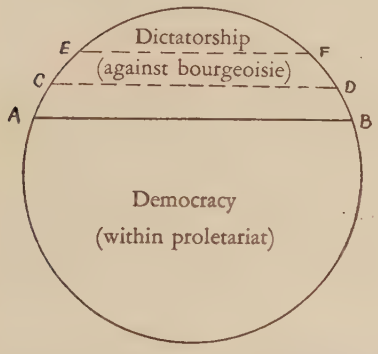
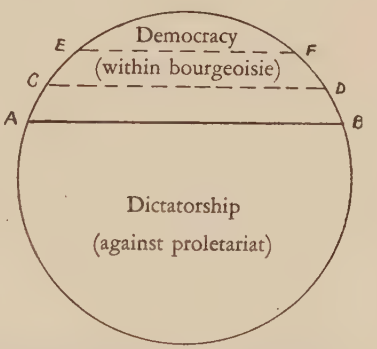


Fig. 3
Bourgeois Democracy



A mere glance at the above diagrams will give the idea that democracy is larger in scope under proletarian democracy than under bourgeois democracy. Moreover, as the bourgeoisie in proletarian democracy is decreasing on account of its conversion into the proletariat by the pressure of dictatorship, democracy is correspondingly expanding, for instance, in Fig. 2 from the line AB to the dotted line CD, EF, and so on. On the other hand, in bourgeois democracy (Fig. 3) there may be nominal, or formal, democracy for all, but actual dictatorship for the proletariat.[58] It is from this point of view that the Marxists maintain that prole-

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[56] Cf. supra pp. 96-97.

[57] Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution,* p. 30.

[58] Cf. supra p. 105, n. 10. "At every step, even in the most democratic bourgeois States, the oppressed masses come across the crying contradiction between the *formal* equality proclaimed by the 'democracy' of the capitalists and the thousand and one *de facto* limitations and restrictions which make the proletarians wage-slaves."—Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution,* pp. 27-28; italics his.

tarian democracy is far larger than bourgeois democracy.

4. Democratic Centralism

The form of proletarian dictatorship, as we have seen, should be a pyramid of Communes, or Councils, of workers' representatives, as outlined in the Paris Commune's plan for national organization. In so far as these councils are representative institutions, there is democracy. In so far as the greater power goes with the higher council and in so far as the unity of the nation is not to be broken, there is centralism. Hence democratic centralism. Speaking of the Paris Commune, Lenin queries:

> "But will it not be centralism if the proletariat and poorest peasantry take the power of the State into their own hands, organize themselves quite freely into communes, and co-ordinate the action of all the communes for the purpose of striking at Capital, for the purpose of crushing the resistance of the capitalists, in order to accomplish the transference of private property in railways, factories, land, and so forth to the nation, to the whole of society? Will that not be the most consistent *democratic centralism?* And proletarian centralism at that?"[59]

Moreover, this centralism, unlike ordinary centralism, does not exclude complete self-government for the provinces, districts and communes, for local self-government will be no longer a check upon the State power which becomes superseded in the proletarian State.[60] Centralism will, then, be "a voluntary fusion of the proletarian communes in the business of destroying capitalist supremacy and the capitalist machinery of government."[61]

Marx's protest against the interpretation of the Communal constitution as federalism, which has already been noted,[62] indicates his favoring of democratic centralism. Engels, too, is in favor of such centralism as opposed to federalism. In his criticism of the draft of the Erfurt Program, he insists upon a unitary

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[59] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 55; italics ours.
It should be noticed that the term democratic centralism is probably first coined by Lenin, because, as far as we know, it is not found in the works of Marx and Engels.
[60] Cf. Marx, *Civil War in France,* p. 47.
[61] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 55.
[62] Cf. supra p. 98, n. 28.

republic, a one and indivisible republic, and, at the same time, upon complete self-government.[63] Hence Lenin states:

"Engels' conception of a centralized democracy is not of that bureaucratic order with which middle class ideologists (including Anarchists) identify it. Centralism does not, with Engels, in the least exclude such wide local autonomy, which combines a voluntary defence of the unity of the State by the communes and districts with the absolute abolition of all bureaucracy and all 'ordering about' from above."[64]

This democratic centralism becomes one of the common principles of communism to-day. It is now applied not only as a principle of government, but also as a principle of party organization.[65] It may be interesting to inquire whether democratic centralism begins with the Paris Commune.

Although Marx himself declares, as we have seen, that the Communal form of political organization was not discovered until the Commune, the idea of democratic centralism is much older than the Commune. As pointed out by Riazanov, it was the basis of the organization of the Communist League, which organization was as follows:

"A definite group of members formed the basic unit of organization—the nucleus. This was called a commune. These were combined into districts with their district committees. The various districts were united under the control of a special leading district. The leading districts were responsible to the central committee."[66]

In his "Address to the Communist League" Marx suggests that besides the official government the workers should "set up a

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[63] Cf. Engels, "Zur Kritik des sozialdemokratischen Programmentwurfes 1891," *Neue Zeit,* XX (1901-1902), 1, pp. 5-13. Here Engels suggests for the program the following clause regarding self-government: "Complete self-government for the provinces, districts and communes through officials elected by universal suffrage, the abolition of all local and provincial authorities appointed by the State."

[64] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 76.

[65] "All parties belonging to the Communist International should be based on the principle of democratic centralization."—Condition 12 in the "Twenty-one Conditions of Membership of the Communist International," in *the Labour International Handbook,* 1921, p. 192.

[66] Riazanov, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,* p. 75.

revolutionary workers' government, either in the form of local executives and *communal councils,* or workers' clubs or workers' committees"; and that "the workers should be independently organized in clubs, which should soon be centralized" under an executive committee.[67] This idea is exactly democratic centralism. Again, Marx's preference for the committee system is shown in the abolition of the office of the President of the General Council of the First International,[68] and his emphasis upon centralism is indicated in his discussion of the situation of Germany in 1850.[69]

From the foregoing evidences, we can see that Marx had had some idea of democratic centralism long before the Paris Commune came into existence. The political organization of the Commune happened to be coincident with his idea, hence he exclaims that it was the political form at last discovered!

5. Functions of Proletarian Dictatorship

The functions of proletarian dictatorship rests upon its purpose, which, as we have seen, is twofold: suppression of the bourgeoisie and establishment of socialism. Hence these are also its functions. The first is the political function, and the second is the economic function. But the political function, the suppression of the bourgeoisie, can be reduced to a minimum, since this suppression, which is to be carried out by the majority in respect to the minority, is an easy matter, as compared with the suppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie.[70] Therefore, the functions of proletarian dictatorship will be mainly economic, and only to a limited extent political.

The economic function, as laid down in *the Communist Manifesto,* will be "to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State" and "to increase the total of productive forces

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[67] Marx, "Address to the Communist League, 1850," in "Two Speeches by Karl Marx," p. 7; italics ours.

[68] Cf. Riazanov, op. cit., p. 165.

[69] Cf. Marx, "Address to the Communist League, 1850," in "Two Speeches by Karl Marx," p. 8.

[70] Cf. Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 95.

as rapidly as possible".[71] This State control of instruments of production and of production itself will involve an enormous amount of work because the operative function plays a leading rôle, and this is another reason why Marxists are centralists. The Paris Commune did intend to centralize all instruments of production in its own hands,[72] but during its short period of existence it achieved only the reduction of political functions such as the abolition of the standing army and of the bureaucracy.[73] Thanks to capitalism, even the enormous economic functions of proletarian dictatorship will be simplified. Thus says Lenin:

"Capitalist culture has created industry on a large scale in the shape of factories, railways, posts, telephones and so forth: and *on this basis* the great majority of functions of 'the old State' have become enormously simplified and reduced, in practice, to very simple operations such as registration, filing and checking. Hence they will be quite within the reach of every literate person, and it will be possible to perform them for the usual 'working man's wage'. This circumstance ought, and will, strip them of all their former glamour as 'Government,' and, therefore, privileged service."[74]

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[71] The full statement has already been cited, cf. supra p. 88.

[72] See Marx, *Civil War in France,* p. 49. To be sure, the Paris Commune did carry out certain radical measures favorable to the working class, such as the restoration of closed workshops (under reserve of compensation) to the masses, abolition of nightwork, *etc.* (ibid., p. 55).

[73] On account of this reduction of political functions, the functions of the Commune were already made simpler than those of the bourgeois government, if we recall the "universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workmen and managers in his business." Yet plain working men performed their work in the government "efficiently" at ordinary wage.—cf. Marx, *Civil War In France,* p. 50.

[74] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 44; italics his. According to Engels, the simplification of functions made by capitalism renders the capitalist class superfluous: "If the crisis demonstrates the incapacity of the bourgeoisie for managing any longer modern productive forces, the transformation of the great establishments for production and distribution into joint-stock companies, trusts and State property, shows how unnecessary the bourgeoisie are for that purpose. All the social functions of the capitalist are now performed by salaried employees. ... At first the capitalist mode of production forces out the workers. Now it forces out the capitalists, and reduces them, just as it reduced the workers, to the ranks of the surplus population..."—*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* pp. 121-122.

As State functions can be performed by "every literate person", the government will become simply one of clerks, or at most, one of managers and clerks. So Lenin further remarks:

"Capitalism simplifies the functions of 'the Government.' It makes it possible to throw off autocratic methods and to bring it all down to a matter of the organization of the proletariat (as the ruling class) hiring 'workers and clerks' in the name of the whole society. ...

"...The specific 'bossing' methods of the State officials can and must begin to be replaced—immediately within twenty-four hours—by the simple functions of managers and clerks—functions which are now already quite within the capacity of the average townsman and can well be performed for a working man's wage.

"We must organize production on a large scale, starting from what has already been done by Capitalism. By *ourselves* we workers relying on our own experience as workers, must create an unshakable and iron discipline supported by the power of the armed workers; we must reduce the rôle of the State officials to that of simply carrying out our instructions. They must be responsible, revocable, moderately paid 'managers and clerks' (of course with technical knowledge of all sorts, types and degrees). This is *our* proletarian task..."[75]

Speaking of the present government operation of the post office as an example of the socialist system, Lenin has again pointed out how economic functions of proletarian dictatorship can be made simple:

"A witty German Social-Democrat of the seventies of last century called the *post-office* an example of the Socialist system. This is very true. At present the post office is a business organized on the lines of a State capitalist monopoly. ... Above the 'common' workers, ... there stands the same bourgeois bureaucracy, but the mechanism of social management is here already to hand. We have but to overthrow the capitalists, to crush with the iron hand of the armed workers the resistance of these exploiters, to break the bureaucratic machine of the modern State—and we have before us a highly technically fashioned machine freed of its parasites, which can quite well be set going by the united workers themselves, hiring their own technical advisers, their own inspectors, their own clerks, and paying them all, as indeed every 'State' official, with the usual worker's wage. Here is a concrete task immediately practicable and realizable as regards all trusts.

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[75] Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, p. 50; italics his.

... To organize our whole national economy like the postal system, but in such a way that the technical exerts, inspectors, clerks and indeed, all persons employed, should receive no higher wage than the working man, and the whole under the management of the armed proletariat—this is our immediate aim..."[76]

Lenin has also told us that the simplified economic functions of proletarian dictatorship will be chiefly "bookkeeping and control". For "*all* the citizens are here transformed into the hired employees of the State, which then is the armed workers. *All* the citizens become the employees and workers of *one* national State 'syndicate' ". Even "the bookkeeping and control necessary for this have been simplified by capitalism to the utmost, till they have become the extraordinary simple operations of watching, recording, and issuing receipts, within the reach of anybody who can read and write and knows the first four arithmetical rules." But Lenin has called our attention to the distinction between the question of bookkeeping and control and the question of technical work, or as Lenin puts it, of "the scientifically educated staff of engineers, agriculturalists, and so on." To Lenin, "these gentlemen work to-day owing allegiance to the capitalists: they will work even better to-morrow, owing it to the armed workers."[77]

Apparently the economic functions of proletarian dictatorship are mainly operative functions concerning production (in its widest sense). Exchange, in the sense of private trade, is presumably to be abolished.[78] As to distribution (in its narrowest sense) under proletarian dictatorship, the principle is almost the same as under capitalism, *i. e.,* to each according to his work, although in either case each does not receive the full product of his work. In contrast to the deductions made under capitalism in the form of rent, interest and profits, deductions are here made in the form of contributions to a public reserve fund. As Marx

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[76] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[77] All citations in this paragraph are taken from Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 107; italics his.

[78] "Within the co-operative society, based on the common ownership of the means of production, the producers do not exchange their products."—Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program,* p. 28.

put it, "the individual producer gets back—after the deductions—exactly as much as he gives to it." "There prevails here the same principle that to-day regulates the exchange of commodities, in so far as it is an exchange of equivalents." Only here "nothing can go over into the possession of individuals, except individual means of consumption."[79] Since almost the same principle of distribution obtains as in the bourgeois State, freedom of consumption also remains, although to a smaller extent than under capitalism. Therefore the economic functions of proletarian dictatorship are necessarily operative functions concerning production.

In passing, it should be noticed that this description of the economic functions of proletarian dictatorship shows exactly the kind of economic system which will prevail under the proletarian regime. To repeat: Production is nationalized, or socialized, and private exchange is abolished, but the principle of distribution and freedom of consumption remain somewhat the same as under capitalism. The underlying assumption is that the proletarian State is evolved from a generally-developed capitalism,[80] so that it will be, as noted above, a huge national workshop, or "State Syndicate", under the management of proletarian dictatorship, wherein "all the citizens become the employees and workers." In other words, the economic system of the proletarian State is

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[79] These quotations are taken from Marx's discussion of the first phase of communist society, *i. e.,* the transition State of proletarian dictatorship, ibid., pp. 27-29. Distribution in such a stage is also touched upon in *Capital,* Vol. I, pp. 90-91. In an official textbook of communism, we find the following statement: "At the beginning of the Communist era goods will probably be distributed according to services performed..." — N. Bukharin and E. Preobraschensky, *A. B. C. of Communism,* Vol. I, (originally written in 1919), p. 58, tr. by P. Lavin, The Marxian Educational Society, Detroit, 1921.

[80] Speaking of the first phase of communism, Marx remarks: "What we are dealing with here is a Communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own basis, but, on the contrary, as it is just *issuing* out of capitalist society." Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program,* p. 28; italics Marx's. "...he (Marx) consistently applies materialist dialectics, the theory of evolution, looking upon Communism as something which evolves *out* of Capitalism." —Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 104; italics Lenin's. In discussing the simplified functions of the proletarian government, Lenin, as we have seen, has repeatedly mentioned "thanks to Capitalism."

socialism, or as Marx calls it, the first phase of communism.[81]

Thus far our discussion of the economic functions of proletarian dictatorship has covered only its domestic aspect. But what about its international aspect? To answer this question, we need only remind ourselves of the fact that Marxism, as pointed out in an earlier chapter, is international, that it knows no distinction between nations or nationalities.[82] The proletariat is national only in the sense that it "must rise to the leading class of the nation," that it must "first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie" in its own country.[83] Therefore it is natural to find no Marxian theory of the tariff question. Both free trade and protectionism in the bourgeois State are meaningless to the Marxists,[84] since that State is to be destroyed. And these policies will have no application in a world of proletarian States, since, with government control of production and with the vanishing of all national antagonisms, the resources of different nations can easily be adjusted and apportioned to each other. These proletarian States will probably "enter the general system of the world proletarian dictatorship."[85] In the case of the existence of an

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[81] Marx says that the shortcomings of distribution are 'unavoidable in *the first phase of Communist society,* as it has just issued from capitalism after long travail." — Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program,* p. 31; italics ours. Lenin defines socialism as "the mere conversion of the means of production into the common property of the whole society" and regards it as equivalent to what Marx calls the first phase of communism (cf. *The State and Revolution,* p. 99). Hence he declares: " ... the scientific difference between Socialism and Communism is clear. That which is generally called Socialism is termed by Marx the first or lower phase of Communist society. In so far as the means of production become public property, the word Communism is also applicable here, providing that we do not forget that it is not full Communism." (Ibid, p. 104.)

[82] Cf. supra p. 77. For illustration, "The Commune admitted all foreigners to the honor of dying for the immortal cause," and "The Commune made a German workingman its Minister of Labor"—Marx, *Civil War in France,* pp. 54-55. "... The foreigners elected to the Commune were confirmed in their office since 'the flag of the Commune is that of the World Republic'."—Engels, "Introduction to the Civil War in France", tr. in *the Communist Monthly,* March, 1927, p. 45.

[83] *The Communist Manifesto,* pp. 38 and 28.

[84] For Marx's discussion of free trade and protectionism in the bourgeois State, see his *Poverty of Philosophy,* Appendix III, Free Trade, pp. 208-227.

[85] *The Programme of the Communist International,* p. 43, Worker's Library Publishers, New York, 1929.

avowedly proletarian State side by side with one or more bourgeois States—the position which Soviet Russia now occupies—the Marxists have no preconceived theory or policy that will cover the international aspect of its governmental functions. Probably such a policy depends upon the concrete circumstances, and we shall reserve our discussion of it until we come to examine the application of Marxism in Soviet Russia.

To sum up: The functions of proletarian dictatorship, according to Marxists, will be simpler than those of a bourgeois State. The political functions will be reduced to a minimum. The economic functions will be greatly increased on account of the realization of the State control of production. But this increase is only apparent, because these increased functions, thanks to capitalism, will be simplified to mere bookkeeping and control, all technical details being assigned to experts, the "scientifically educated staff". Such economic functions are mainly operative and consequently cover only the field of production. Exchange will be abolished. The distribution principle will remain almost the same as under capitalism. As to the international aspect of State functions, it is assumed that in a world of proletarian States, probably linked together under a world dictatorship, national antagonisms will be eliminated altogether, and therefore no particular theory is advanced.

CHAPTER VII

THE WITHERING AWAY OF THE PROLETARIAN STATE

1. The Theory in General

As we have seen, the proletarian State, proletarian dictatorship, is a temporary, transitional State. It is temporary and transitional because it will wither away. The underlying reasoning runs as follows:

The essence of a State, as we have shown before, lies in its political character, in the sense of suppression or repression of one class by another. It is the limited political function of proletarian dictatorship that gives rise to a modification of the nature of the State. As already pointed out, the proletarian State is a *Gemeinwesen,* a Commonwealth, rather than a State in the proper sense of the term.[1] As soon as class distinctions entirely disappear, the political functions of proletarian dictatorship will be reduced to *nil.* Then the State will vanish, since mere economic functions constitute no State and can be performed by economic organizations.[2] Now we come to a consideration of the point at which the State will wither away.[3]

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[1] Cf. supra p. 114.

[2] Cf. supra p. 108. "In point of fact, under Socialism there will not exist the apparatus of compulsion itself, namely, the State: for it will have melted away entirely in a producing and consuming commune."—Trotsky, *Dictatorship vs. Democracy,* p. 169. Of course, by socialism Trotsky here means complete socialism, the highest phase of communism. Speaking of Russian Soviets, he again remarks: "The Soviets themselves, at present the organs of government, will gradually melt into purely economic organizations." — Ibid., p. 47.

[3] It should be remembered that when Marxists speak of the withering-away of the State, they have in mind the proletarian State, the *gemeinwesen,* not the bourgeois Sate. In order to avoid confusion, the adjective proletarian is added to the word State in the title of the present chapter. Even in cases where this adjective is not used in the following discussion, by the State is meant the proletarian State if its withering away is referred to.

When the State withers away, there will be born the stateless-communistic society.[4] The Marxian anarchistic idea, the idea of abolition of the State, has been explained in an earlier chapter.[5] What remains to be considered here is the general Marxian conception of the stateless-communistic society. In his *Poverty of Philosophy,* Marx describes the future society as "an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism".[6] In *the Communist Manifesto,* he repeats the same idea.

"In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."[7]

But such a conception is rather vague. It was not until 1875 that Marx gave a more definite description of the stateless-communistic society:

"In the highest phase of Communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual under the division of labor has disappeared, and therewith also the opposition between manual and intellectual labor; after labor has become not only a means of life, but also the highest want in life; when, with the development of all the faculties of the individual, the productive forces have correspondingly increased, and all the springs of social wealth flow more abundantly—only then may the limited horizon of capitalist right be left behind entirely, and society inscribe on its banners: 'From everyone according to his faculties, to everyone according to his needs'."[8]

Here we are told that in the stateless-communistic society, the division of labor will disappear, that goods will be abundant, and that there will be realized the anarchistic slogan: "From each

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[4] It should be noticed that the phrase "stateless-communistic society" is not found in the writings of Marx and Engels, although both of them have the conception of that society. It has been used by Stalin (see his *Leninism,* p. 121) and by Kelsen (sec. 3 of Chapter I in his *Sozialismus und Staat* is entitled "die staatsfreire kommunistische Gesellschaft"). The term "anarcho-communistic society" would be a better expression, if it should cause no confusion with anarchism.

[5] Cf. supra Chapter III, Section 3.

[6] Cf. supra p. 58.

[7] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 42.

[8] Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program,* p. 31.

according to his ability and to each according to his needs." Such is the general Marxian conception of the stateless-communistic society.

2. The Withering-away of the Proletarian State

Although there are some germs of the theory of the withering-away of the proletarian state in his writings[9], Marx himself nowhere clearly stated it. It was Engels who first discussed it in detail. Witness the following:

"... *The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property* (his emphasis).

"But in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State.[10] Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the State. ... When at last it (the State) becomes the real representative of the whole society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection, as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. *State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then withers away of itself;* the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. *The State is not 'abolished'. It withers away.* ... This gives the measure of the value ... of the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the State out of hand."[11]

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[9] The statement, already quoted (cf. supra p. 59), that the proletariat, after having become the ruling class, will "have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class", implies the idea of the withering away of the proletarian State.

[10] That is, the State becomes a *Gemeinwesen.*

[11] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* pp. 127-129. Italics in the second paragraph are ours.

The translator of this book, Dr. Edward Aveling, has used the phrase

On another occasion Engels remarks: ". . . The State, and together with it, also political authority, will vanish as the result of the future Socialist Revolution, *i.e.*, that public functions will lose their political character and will be transformed into simple administrative functions, concerned with social interests."[12] Lenin points out that this transformation indicates the process of the withering away of the State.[13] In his letter to Bebel, Engels states that "with the introduction of the Socialist order of society, the State will dissolve of itself (*sich auflösen*) and will disappear".[14] In all these statements Engels suggests the theory that the proletarian State is to be abolished not by force but through withering away. But he also reminds us that such a State will not completely wither away "until a generation, grown up in new and free social conditions, will be able to throw off the entire State trumpery from itself."[15]

Lenin further elaborated this theory. Speaking of the withering-away of the functions of proletarian dictatorship, he declares: ". . . the constant simplification of the functions of inspection and registration will admit of their being performed by each in turn, will then become a habit, and will finally die out as *special* functions of a special class."[16] In another connection, he remarks: ". . . striving for Socialism, we are convinced that it will develop further into Communism, and, side by side with

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"die out" for the German word *absterben*. But the translator of Lenin's State and Revolution has used the phrase "wither away". Although either of these two phrases is the English equivalent of the German word *absterben*, we prefer the latter and have, therefore, substituted it for the former in Dr. Aveling's translation.

[12] Engels, "Uber das Autoritätsprinzip," *Neue Zeit*, XXXII (1913-1914), 1, p. 39.

[13] Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, p. 65.

[14] In Bebel, *Aus meinan Leben*, Vol. II, p. 322. Although Engels made this statement as his interpretation of what had been said in *the Communist Manifesto* and in the *Poverty of Philosophy* concerning Marxian anarchistic idea, but he made this idea more definite by suggesting "the State will dissolve of itself".

[15] "Engels, "Introduction to Marx's Civil War in France," tr. in *the Communist Monthly*, March 1927, p. 50.

[16] Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, p. 51; italics his.

this, there will vanish all need for force, for the *subjection* of one man to another, of one section of society to another, since people will *grow accustomed* to observing the elementary conditions of social existence *without force and without subjection.*"[17] Again, he presents this idea at greater length:

"Only in Communist Society, when the resistance of the capitalists has finally been broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no longer any classes (that is, when there is no difference between the members of society in respect to their social means of production), *only then* 'does the State disappear, *and one can speak of freedom.*' Only then will be possible and will be realized a full democracy, a democracy without any exceptions. And only then will democracy itself begin to wither away in virtue of the simple fact that, freed from capitalist slavery, from the innumerable horrors, savagery, absurdities and infamies of capitalist exploitation, people will gradually *become accustomed* to the observation of the elementary rules of social life, known for centuries, repeated for thousands of years in all sermons. They will become accustomed to their observance without force, without constraint, without subjection, without the *special apparatus* for compulsion which is called the State.

"The expression, 'the State withers away', is well chosen, for it indicates the gradual and elemental nature of the process. Only habit can, and undoubtedly will, have such an effect: for we see around us millions of times how readily people get accustomed to observe the necessary rules of life in common, if there is no exploitation, if there is nothing that causes indignation, that calls forth protest and revolt and has to be suppressed."[18]

Here two points are worthy of notice. In the first place, the State withers away just when full democracy emerges. That is to say, no sooner is full democracy realized than it will disappear. This may be illustrated in a diagram. In Fig. 4 (on next page), democracy will expand from AB to CD, to EF and so on, until the last dotted line coincides with the top of the circle. But just as soon as this coincidence takes place, the whole circle, the State, which is now complete democracy, will disappear.

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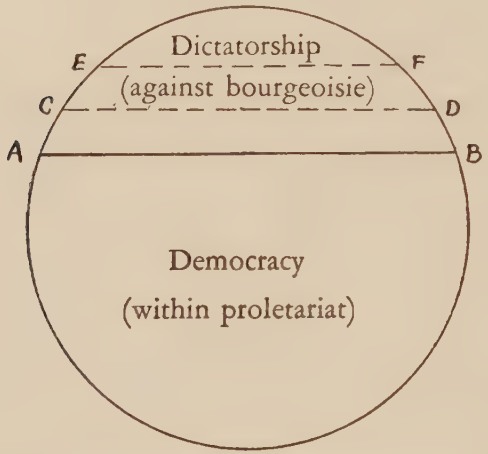
[17] Ibid., pp. 86-87; italics his. For the difference between socialism and communism, see supra p. 123, n. 81.

[18] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* pp. 94-95; italics his.

Fig. 4

THE WITHERING AWAY OF THE PROLETARIAN STATE
(Proletarian Dictatorship)



In the second place, Marxian stateless-communism is possible because people will become "accustomed" to observing the rules of life. In other words, "habit" will make the State "wither-away". This habit is expected to be cultivated through the workers' participation in performing State functions in the proletarian State. Lenin explains:

"When all, or be it even only the greater part of society, have learned how to govern the State, have taken this business into their own hands, have established a control over the insignificant minority of capitalists, over the gentry with capitalist leanings, and workers thoroughly demoralized by capitalism—from this moment the need for any government begins to vanish. The more complete the Democracy, the nearer the moment when it ceases to be necessary. The more democratic the 'State' consisting of armed workers, which is 'no longer really a State in the ordinary sense of the term,' the more rapidly does every form of the State begin to decay. For when all have learned to manage, and really do manage, socialized production, when all really do keep account and control of the idlers, gentlefolk, swindlers, and such like 'guardians of capitalist traditions,' the escape

from such general registration and control will inevitably become so increasingly difficult, so much the exception, and will probably be accompanied by such swift and severe punishment ... that very soon the *necessity* (Lenin's italics) of observing the simple, fundamental rules of any kind of social life will become a habit. The door will then be wide open for the transition from the first phase of Communist society to its second higher phase, and along with it to complete withering away of the State".[19]

To show the feasibility of Marxian stateless-communism, Lenin gives us two additional reasons:

"... only under Communism will the State become quite unnecessary, for there will be *no one* to suppress—'no one' in the sense of a *class,* in the sense of a systematic struggle with a definite section of the population. We are not utopians, and we do not in the least deny the possibility and inevitability of excesses by *individual persons,* and equally the need to suppress such excesses. But, in the first place, for this no special machine, no special instrument of repression is needed. This will be done by the armed nation itself, as simply and as readily as any crowd of civilized people, even in modern society, parts a pair of combatants or does not allow a woman to be outraged. And, secondly, we know that the fundamental social cause of excesses which violate the rules of social life is the exploitation of the masses, their want and their poverty. With the removal of this chief cause, excesses will inevitably begin to 'wither away.' We do not know how quickly and in what stages, but we know they will be withering away. With their withering away, the State also will wither away."[20]

In summarizing the withering away theory of the State, Lenin states: "When Socialism has shortened the working day, raised the masses to a new life, created such conditions for the majority of the population as to enable everybody, *without exception,* to perform the functions of government, then every form of the State will completely wither away."[21]

Let us ask: How soon will these conditions be created so as to realize the stateless-communistic society? As the reader will remember, Engels once remarks that the State will exist until

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[19] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 108.
[20] Ibid, p. 96; italics Lenin's.
[21] Ibid., p. 125; italics Lenin's.

a new generation "will be able to throw off the entire State trumpery from itself." This is rather an indefinite answer, for the question still remains: Which new generation will be able to do so? A new generation from the beginning of proletarian dictatorship? According to Bukharin and Preobraschensky, "two or three generations will have to grow up under the new conditions" before the stateless-communistic society will be realized.[22] But Lenin is not so certain. His answer is, as we have already seen, "we do not know how quickly and in what stages". In explaining Marx's discussion of the conditions for the highest phase of communist Society, Lenin admits this much: "But how rapidly this development (of productive forces) will go forward, how soon it will reach the point of breaking away from the division of labor, of the destruction of the antagonism between brain and manual work, of the transformation of work into a 'first necessity of life'—*this we do not and cannot know.*"[23] Again, in discussing the anarchistic slogan: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs", Lenin concedes: "by what stages, by means of what practical measures humanity will proceed to this higher aim—*this we do not and cannot know.*"[24]

In spite of all this admission or concession, the withering-away of the State, it is believed, is still "inevitable". Thus Lenin declares: "Consequently we are right in speaking solely of the inevitable withering away of the State, emphasizing the protracted nature of this process, and its dependence upon the rapidity of development of the *higher phase* (his italics) of Communism: leaving quite open the question of lengths of time, or the concrete forms of this withering away, since material for the solution of such questions is not available."[25] "The political difference," continues Lenin, "between the first, or lower, and the higher phase of Communism will in time, no doubt, be tremendous; but

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[22] Cf. Bukharin and Preobraschensky, *A B C of Communism*, p. 60.
[23] Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, pp. 101-102; italics ours.
[24] Ibid., p. 105; italics ours.
[25] Ibid., p. 102.

it would be ridiculous to emphasize it now . . ."[26] So he remarks:

"As long as the 'highest' phase of Communism has not arrived, the Socialists demand the *strictest* control, by *Society and by the State,* of the quantity of labor and the quantity of consumption; only this control must *start* with the expropriation of the capitalists, with the control of the workers over the capitalists, and must be carried out, not by a Government of bureaucrats, but by a Government of the *armed workers.*"[27]

In other words, proletarian dictatorship will remain so long as anarchy is not realized. Since the length of time required for the realization of anarchy is not known, the length of time for which proletarian dictatorship is going to last is also unknown. The *temporary* or *transitional* character of proletarian dictatorship will become quite indefinite. Being conscious of this difficulty, Lenin calls the highest phase of communism an "anticipation", not a "promise".[28]

3. The Stateless-Communistic Society

As we have described the theory of the withering-away of the proletarian State in detail, we shall proceed further to examine the stateless-communistic society, the general idea of which has already been touched upon in the first section of the present chapter.

There are five outstanding features of the stateless-communistic society which are interesting as well as romantic. One obvious feature is anarchy, namely, that there is no government, since the State will have disappeared. Society will then be a vast association for production, wherein all work will be performed voluntarily by every one as a habit. Every one is to be so accustomed to observing the rules of life that even the simplest manag-

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[26] Ibid., pp. 103-104.

[27] Ibid., p. 103; italics Lenin's.

[28] ... it has never entered the head of any Socialist 'to promise' that the highest phase of Communism will actually arrive, while the *anticipation* of the great Socialists that it *will* arrive, assumes *neither the present* productive powers of labor, *nor the present* unthinking 'man in the street' capable of spoiling, without reflection, the stores of social wealth and of demanding the impossible."—Ibid., pp. 102-103; italics Lenin's.

ing functions such as "bookkeeping and control" (in the sense of "watching, recording and issuing receipts") will become unnecessary.[29]

In order to carry out the common economic plan, there may exist, however, some "counting-houses and statistical bureaus":

"The principal work of administering will be done in various counting-houses and statistical bureaus. From these places the whole field of production will be surveyed, and the quantity of goods required will be ascertained. It will also be learned where the number of workers should be increased and where decreased, and how long their working day should be. ... There will be no necessity for having Ministers for special departments, and no need for policemen, prisons, laws, etc. As in an orchestra all the performers take their cue from the conductor, so all members of society will read the instructions of the bureaus and arrange their work accordingly. ... In the bureaus there will be one set of workers to-day, and another set to-morrow."[30]

In other words, the functions of these bureaus are, to use Engels's language, "administration of things" rather than "government of persons" and they are not *special* functions of a special class.

The second feature of the stateless-communistic society is the absence of class distinctions, which, as we have seen, is the fundamental reason for the disappearance of the State.[31] We are constantly told by Marx and Engels that in the new society there will be no class antagonisms and no classes, the abolition of which is the ultimate aim of Scientific Socialism. Hence we read in "A B C of Communism":

"In the Communist society ... there will be no landowners, no capitalists, no wage workers; there will be simply human beings, comrades. There will be no classes, no class war, no class organizations."[32]

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[29] Lenin says: "Bookkeeping and control—these are the chief things necessary for the smooth and correct functioning of the *first phase* (Lenin's emphasis) of communist society."—ibid., p. 107. Presumably they will become unnecessary in the highest phase of communist society.

[30] Bukharin and Preobraschensky, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

[31] Cf. supra, pp. 58-60, and the citations from Engels and Lenin given in the preceding section.

[32] Bukharin and Preobraschensky, op. cit., p. 59.

The third feature of the stateless-communistic society is the disappearance of the division of labor,[33] which division, according to Engels, "lies at the basis of the division into classes."[34] He characterizes this feature of the new society as follows:

"... on the one hand, no single individual will be able to shift his share in productive labor, in providing the essentials of human existence, upon another, and on the other hand productive labor instead of being a means of slavery will be a means toward human freedom, in that *it offers an opportunity to every one to develop his full powers, physical and intellectual, in every direction and to exercise them so that it makes a pleasure out of a burden.*"[35]

Hence one result of the disappearance of the division of labor is an all-round development of the faculties of the individual. According to Marx, there will no longer be any distinction be-

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[33] It should be noticed here that Marx makes an important distinction between division of labor in society and division of labor in the factory. (cf. his *Capital,* Vol. I, Chapter XIV, Sec. 4). The former "brings into contact independent commodity-producers, who acknowledge no other authority, but that of competition," while the latter "implies the undisputed authority of the capitalist over men, that are but parts of a mechanism that belongs to him." In the one there is "anarchy" and in the other there is "despotism" (ibid., 391). Since production is socialized in the communist society, the division of labor in society is done away with. But the abolition of the division of labor in factory does not mean that the worker "should not only make the twelfth part of a pin, but the whole twelve parts in succession", for this would be "a step backward" (cf. Marx,. *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 157). It only means that the workers can be shifted from factory to factory, from trade to trade, since there is no "necessity of training a distinct class of workmen exclusively as machine laborers" (cf. Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* p. 241). Hence the individual worker will not annex his life to a single operation, and we can speak of the full and free development of every individual.

According to Engels, the abolition of division of labor is not "a phantasy, a pious wish"; but it is based upon the very nature of the greater industry, which "demands mobility of labor, a fluidity of functions and a complete adaptability on the part of the laborers" (ibid., pp. 241-242). Marx also says: "The division of labor in the automatic factory is characterized by this, that labor there has lost all specialized character. But from the moment that all special development ceases, the need of universality, the tendency towards an integral development of the individual begins to make itself felt."—*Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 157.

[34] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 130.

[35] Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* pp. 240-241; italics ours.

tween manual and intellectual labor.[36] Intellect will be absorbed into the masses; the bourgeois intellectual class, abolished; and the system of the specialists, destroyed.[37] "The new communistic society strives after unity in production, unity in mental life, in science."[38] Culture will be "general, many-sided";[39] "it will be a really human culture, and not a class one."[40] This abolition of intellectuals as a class is also known as "the socialization of intellect and culture."[41]

Another result of the disappearance of the division of labor is the abolition of the distinction between town and country, since this distinction is "the first great division of labor".[42] One of the measures advocated in *the Communist Manifesto* is:

"Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equal distribution of population over the country."[43]

Certainly this will have been accomplished by the time the State withers away. The reason for this certainty is given by Engels as follows:

"The abolition of the antagonism between town and country is now only possible, it has become an absolute necessity for industrial production it-

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[36] Cf. supra p. 126. Notice the following remarks: "In principle a porter differs less from a philosopher than a mastiff from a greyhound. It is the division of labor which has placed an abyss between the two."—Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 140.

[37] Cf. S. J. Rutgers, "The Intellectuals and the Russian Revolution", in Lenin and others, *The New Policies of Soviet Russia,* pp. 75,112, Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago (undated).

[38] Ibid., p. 112.

According to Marx, science, today, is bourgeois because modern industry "makes science a productive force distinct from labour and presses it into the service of capital."—*Capital,* Vol. I, p. 397.

[39] Cf. Rutgers, "The Intellectuals and the Russian Revolution," in Lenin and others, op. cit., p. 107.

[40] Bukharin and Preobraschensky, op. cit., p. 62.

[41] Cf. Rutgers, "The Intellectuals and the Russian Revolution," in Lenin and others, op. cit., p. 127.

[42] Cf. Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 139; and Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* p. 238. In another place, Marx says: "The foundation of every division of labour ... is the separation between town and country." —*Capital,* Vol. I, p. 389.

[43] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 42.

self. It has also become a necessity for agricultural production, and is, above all, essential to the maintenance of the public health. Only through the amalgamation of city and country can the present poisoning of air, water, and localities, be put at an end and the waste filth of the cities be used for the cultivation of vegetation rather than the spreading of disease."[44]

Engels re-assures us:

"The abolition of the separation between town and country is no Utopia, it is an essential condition of the proportionate distribution of the greater industry throughout the country. Civilization has left us a number of large cities, as an inheritance, which it will take much time and trouble to abolish. But they must and will be done away with, however much time and trouble it may take."[45]

Thus, in the stateless-communistic society city and country are amalgamated. There will be vegetable gardens in cities and industrial workships in villages. No more crowded towns, but everywhere "garden cities".

The fourth feature of the stateless-communistic society is abundance of wealth, which makes that society possible. As pointed out by Marx, the formula, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs", can be realized "when, with the development of all the faculties of the individual, the productive forces have correspondingly increased and all the springs of social wealth flow more abundantly".[46] Lenin further explains this:

"The State will be able to wither away completely when Society has realized the formula: 'From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs;' that is, when people have become accustomed to observe the fundamental principles of social life, and their labor is so productive, that they will voluntarily work *according to their abilities.* ... There will then be no need for an exact calculation by Society of the quantity of products to be distributed to each of its members; each will take freely 'according to his needs'."[47]

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[44] Engels, *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,* pp. 243-244.
[45] Ibid., p. 244.
[46] Cf. supra p. 126.
[47] Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 102; italics his.

Therefore, in the opinion of Marx and Lenin, abundance is a very important condition in the new society. Engels, too, is fully aware of this. He points out clearly that the division of society into classes was based upon scarcity and that the abolition of classes presupposes abundance.[48] But Engels believes that this abundance is a possibility not far from now:

"The possibility of securing for every member of society, by means of socialized production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties—this possibility is now for the first time here, but *it is here.*"[49]

According to Bukharin and Preobraschensky, this possibility will be realized in the new society for three reasons:

"First, a great mass of human energy will be set free which was formerly consumed in the class struggle. ... Second, the energy and wealth which are used up and destroyed in competition, crises and wars, will be devoted to social purposes. ... Third, organization not only prevents waste; it also makes possible the improvement of technical production..."[50]

Such being the case, in the stateless-communistic society, then, "there will be an abundanc of all things required." "Poverty and scarcity will be unknown."[51]

The fifth feature of the stateless-communistic society is a change in human nature, which makes that society durable and endurable. As we have seen, a new habit will be formed that will make the State wither away, and the new society belongs to the new generations grown up under new conditions. But that habit is so new that it is nothing less than a change in human nature. Hence there will be no one in the new society like "the present unthinking 'man in the street' ".[52] Each will work ac-

[48] Cf. Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 131; italics his.
[49] Ibid., p. 133.
[50] Bukharin and Preobraschensky, op. cit., p. 61.
[51] Ibid., pp. 58-59.
[52] Cf. supra p. 133, n. 28.

cording to his ability and take according to his needs. In other words, human nature is to be so radically modified by the new environment that all conflicts will cease. There will be a harmony of interests.

In short, a society with the above five features is what is expected in Marxism. Only then, the dialectics of social evolution ceases to work; social revolutions become a history of the past.[53] Only then, man will become really free; man will control nature, instead of being controlled by nature. As Engels depicts the beginning of the new society:

"Then for the first time, man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of Nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of Nature foreign to, and dominating, him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organization, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by Nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history, pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. *It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.*"[54]

Thus Engels concludes: "Man, at last the master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time the lord over Nature, his own master—free."[55]

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[53] Cf. supra p. 35.

[54] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* pp. 134-135; italics ours.

[55] Ibid., p. 139.

CHAPTER VIII

APPLICATION OF MARXISM IN SOVIET RUSSIA

1. The Bolshevik Revolution

We have completed our survey of the Marxian theory of the State as a whole. In analyzing this theory, we have pursued the argument from its starting point in Marxian philosophy to its culmination in the Marxian idea of the stateless-communistic society. To-day there is in actual existence an avowedly proletarian State, Soviet Russia,[1] wherein we can test the Marxian theory. Let us begin with an analysis of the Bolshevik revolution.

As we have seen, in the Marxian theory the proletarian, or socialist, revolution[2] presupposes a generally developed capitalism, or the maturity of productive forces;[3] and a democratic republic is most favorable to its success.[4] From these propositions the revisionists have drawn an inference that the proletarian revolution can take place only in a country which is both highly capitalistic and highly democratic,[5] and they therefore refuse to accept as the proletarian revolution the Bolshevik revolution in Russia,[6] which in 1917 was backward, both economically and

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[1] Besides the claim of the communists themselves that Soviet Russia is a proletarian State, even Kautsky the revisionist, who is antagonistic to Soviet Russia, admits that the Soviet government is a proletarian government. He wrote in 1919: "Whatever one may think of Bolshevik methods, the fact that *a proletarian goverment* in a great State has not only come into power, but been able to maintain itself for nearly two years under the most difficult conditions conceivable, naturally increases the feeling of power among the proletariat of all countries."—Kautsky, *Terrorism and Communism*, p. 233; italics ours.

[2] "Proletarian revolution" and "socialist revolution" are used interchangeably in this work; cf. supra p. 88, n. 1.

[3] Cf. supra pp. 63-66.

[4] Cf. supra p. 79.

[5] Cf. supra p. 19.

[6] "...western social democracy refuses to accept the Bolshevik revolution as a working-class revolution and the Soviet Government as a socialist

politically, as compared with the advanced countries. Thus we are confronted with two questions. Was the Bolshevik revolution a proletarian revolution? If so, why did it take place in backward Russia rather than in a more advanced country like the United States?

To answer the first question, we shall simply consider three factors: the class of people which participated in the revolution, the class of people which has controlled the State power since the revolution, and the economic system which the new government is building up. From the standpoint of each of these three criteria, a revolution may be called either "proletarian" or otherwise, but its character can be completely determined only by applying all three tests. Let us apply them in turn to the Bolshevik revolution.

With regard to the class of people which participated in the Bolshevik revolution, there were two stages, which must be distinguished. During the first stage, the proletariat was allied with the entire peasantry against the monarchy and landlords; and during the second stage, the proletariat rallied to its side the semi-proletariat, the village poor, against the peasant rich. Concerning the first stage Lenin writes:

"The victorious Bolshevik revolution meant the end of all hesitations and the complete destruction of the monarchy and landlordism (which had still

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government in the Marxian sense of the terms."—Hilquit, "Roads to Labor or Socialist Control", in H. W. Laidler and Norman Thomas, *The Socialism of Our Times* (a symposium), p. 67, the Vanguard Press, New York, 1929. Kautsky has repeatedly called the Bolshevik revolution "a middle class revolution", cf. his *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, p. 97 and his *Labour Revolution*, pp. 29, 46.

It is interesting to note the conflicting statements among the revisionists themselves. For instance, in his statement just quoted, Hlilquit does not accept the Soviet government as "a socialist government" while Kautsky, as pointed out above (cf. n. 1), regards it as "a proletarian government". In the Marxian theory there is hardly any difference between a socialist and a proletarian government. Again, Kautsky mentions violence, or "dramatic episodes", as one reason for the "middle class" character of the Bolshevik revolution (cf. supra p. 18, n. 55). Yet Hilquit maintains: "The Bolshevst revolutions in Russia and Hungary were accomplished without bloodshed." —Hilquit, "Roads to Labour or Socialist Control", in Laidler and Thomas, op. cit., p. 65. Even among Kautsky's own statements alone, there are contradictions. As one instance, consider this conclusion from his statements, that a middle class revolution results in a proletarian government!

been in existence till the November revolution). The *bourgeois* revolution was carried out by us to *the end.* The peasantry *as a whole* was supporting us, since its antagonism to the Socialist proletariat could not break out at once. The Soviets included at the time the peasantry *as a whole,* the class divisions among the latter being still in embryo, still latent."[7]

On the second stage of the Bolshevik revolution Lenin also writes:

"All acquainted with the conditions who have been to the villages, declare that it was not until the summer and autumn of 1918, that our country-side passed through its *November* (that is, proletarian) revolution. ... One year after the proletarian revolution in the capitals the turn came, under its influence and with its assistance, of the proletarian revolution in the country-side, which finally consolidated the power of the Soviet and Bolshevism, and finally proved that the latter had no longer to fear any hostile power in the interior. Thus, after completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution in alliance with the entire peasantry *as a whole,* the Russian proletariat has passed definitely to the socialist revolution, having succeeded in splitting up the village, in rallying to its side the village proletariat and semi-proletariat, and in uniting them against the exploiters and the bourgeoisis, including the peasant one."[8]

Thus, according to Lenin, in November, 1917, only cities, where the proletariat always predominates, passed through the proletarian revolution; for the country as a whole, the November revolution was still tinged with a bourgeois character because of the alliance of the proletariat with the entire peasantry. In the summer and autumn of 1918 the proletariat joined hands with the semi-proletariat, the village poor, against the peasant rich, thus accomplishing the proletarian revolution in the country-side. In other words, so long as both the proletariat and the entire peasantry were its participants, the Bolshevik revolution remained bourgeois, if we consider the country as a whole; but later when only the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, the poor peasant, were its participants, it became a thoroughly proletarian revolution.[9] Thus from the standpoint of the first standard, the participants

[7] Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution,* pp. 93-94; italics Lenin's.
[8] Ibid., pp. 95-96; italics Lenin's.
[9] Cf. ibid., 91-92.

in the revolution, the Bolshevik revolution was a proletarian one.

With regard to the last two standards, the control of the State power and the economic system to be built up, the Soviet form of the State is a proletarian State, a State under the proletarian control, and the economic system in Soviet Russia is a dual system of limited socialism and State Capitalism, the latter of which is also intended to build up complete socialism. As these propositions will be explained in detail in the following sections, suffice it here to remind the reader that even Kautsky the revisionist, as noted above, has recognized the Soviet government as a proletarian government,[10] and that Morris Hilquit, an American revisionist, has admitted the "attempt" of the Bolshevik leaders to establish a socialist regime.[11] Therefore from the standpoint of the last two standards, also the Bolshevik revolution was a proletarian revolution.

Since the Bolshevik revolution was a proletarian revolution, then the other question arises: why did it take place in backward Russia rather than in a more advanced country like the United States? The reasons for this may be divided into two groups: general and specific. Let us take the general reasons first.

First of all, attention should be called to the fact that in the Marxian theory the requirement that a generally developed capitalism, or the maturity of productive forces, must precede the proletarian revolution is only a general requirement,[12] and does not mean at all that there must be a numerous proletariat, a democratic republic, and other specific conditions. The point is simply this: The more capitalistic and the more democratic the country, the easier will be the task of the proletarian revolution. Obviously this idea does not exclude the possibility of the prole-

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[10] Cf. supra p. 140, n. 1.

[11] "The bolshevik leaders took the government of Russia into their hands, and, since they were Marxian socialists of the most doctrinaire observance, *they naturally attempted to bring their revolution and their regime within the Marxian formula.*"—Hilquit, "Roads to Labor or Socialist Control," in Laidler and Thomas, op. cit., p. 68; italics ours. It is unnecessary for us to add that a regime within the Marxian formula is nothing but a socialist regime.

[12] Cf. supra Chapter IV, Section 1.

tarian revolution in a country less capitalistic and less democratic. Hence Marx and Engels, in 1847-48, expected a bourgeois revolution in Germany to be followed immediately by a proletarian revolution.[13] Let us compare the economic status of Russia, and the Russian proletariat, of 1917, with the German situation in 1847-50.

In 1917 Russia was not a country without capitalism; she was economically backward only in comparison with such highly industrialized countries as England and the United States of America. Even in 1882 Marx and Engels saw in Russia "the feverishly developing capitalist order" and the beginning of "the bourgeois land-ownership system".[14] As has been pointed out by a modern writer, in Russia in the years preceding the Bolshevik revolution, despite the large number of peasants, "a large proportion of the total industry was big industry" and "the Russian proletariat, although young, had been steeled in the 1905 revolution and in the illegal existence against Czarism."[15]

As to the comparison of the Russian proletariat in 1917 with the German proletariat in 1847-50, Lenin says: "At that period the proportion of proletarians in Germany was considerably smaller than the proportion of proletarians in Russia at the time of the 1917 revolution."[16] Stalin also remarks that "the Russian

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[13] Cf. supra p. 81.

[14] Marx and Engels, "Introduction to the second Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto, 1882", re-translated by Engels into German in 1890, tr. from the German edition of 1898 by Elizabeth Brissenden Miller under the title of "America and Russia", *The Communist Monthly,* March, 1928, p. 132.

[15] Karl Reeve, "De Leonism and Communism," *The Communist Monthly.* August, 1928, p. 501.

Even Kautsky the revisionist has repeatedly recognized Russia's industrial development. In one place, he remarks: "The Russian factories were for the most part large concerns."—*Terrorism and Communism,* p. 166. On another occasion he states: "Russian industry exhibits many primitive forms, but the *capitalist portion of it,* just because of its recent growth, *shows its most modern and highly-developed form."—The Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* pp. 120-121, italics ours. In spite of this recognition, Kautsky is still surprised at the Bolshevik revolution because of the lack of certain specific conditions in Russia (for references to Kautsky's specific conditions, see supra p. 19, n. 60).

[16] Cited in Stalin, *Leninism,* p. 90.

proletariat was in a much more developed condition than the German proletariat had been in 1848".[17] Such being the case, there is no reason, according to the Marxian theory, why the proletarian revolution should not have taken place in Russia.

As a matter of fact, thirty-five years before the Bolshevik revolution, Marx and Engels made a statement, which has been neglected by most writers on Marxism, that "Russia forms the vanguard of Europe's revolutionary movement" and that it is not unlikely that the Russian revolution might become "the signal for a workers' revolution in the West".[18] As early as 1902, Lenin also wrote:

> "History imposes upon the Russian Marxists an immediate task which is more revolutionary than any of those immediately incumbent upon the proletariat in other lands. Its accomplishment, namely the destruction of the most powerful bulwarks of European and Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat."[19]

Thus the proletarian revolution in Russia is not so unexpected in the eyes of the Marxists, including Marx himself, as in the eyes of the revisionists.

Now let us give some specific reasons for the proletarian revolution in Russia. First, there had been an advance in the development of capitalism since the beginning of the twentieth century, *i. e.,* capitalism developed into financial imperialism. According to Lenin, there are, at least, three characteristics of this capitalism or imperialism: financial oligarchy in advanced countries, increasing export of capital to colonies and dependencies, and the division of the world (that is, colonies and backward countries) among monopolist capitalists and among great powers.[20]

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[17] Ibid., p. 86.

[18] Marx and Engels, "America and Russia", *The Communist Monthly,* March, 1928, p. 132.

[19] Cited in Stalin, op. cit., p. 86.
About 1904 Kautsky the Marxist also regarded the Russian proletariat as "an extra-ordinary revolutionary force."—See citations from his earlier writings in his *Road to Power,* pp. 18-19.

[20] See Lenin, *Imperialism, the Latest Stage in the Development of Capitalism* (first published in 1917), Chapters III-IV, tr. by J. T. Kozlowski, the

In the light of this development of capitalism, Lenin extended Marx's theory of the proletarian revolution. This extension, which explains the Russian proletarian revolution, is described by Stalin as follows:

As a result of the new capitalism, *i.e.,* imperialism, "wars become inevitable", and the Marxists should now more than ever approach the problem of the proletarian revolution with their eyes fixed "upon the world economy". Once the world-wide imperialist system is "regarded as a unified whole", the backwardness of certain countries is "not an insurmountable obstacle to the revolution *if* (Stalin's emphasis) the system as a whole . . is already ripe for the revolution." The proletarian revolution should be considered to-day, "as the outcome of the growth of antagonisms within the world-wide system of imperialism, as the outcome of an effort which (in this country or that) breaks the chains of world-wide imperialism." Thus the proletarian revolution must begin "where the chain of imperialism is weakest". "In 1917, the weakest part of the imperialist world-front was in Russia. There the front was broken, so that the way was opened for the advance of the proletarian revolution" in spite of the fact that "in Russia, capitalism was so much less developed than in France, Germany, Great Britain, or the United States of America."[21]

Secondly, there were certain circumstances which made the Russian proletarian revolution justifiable, which made Russia "the weakest part of the imperialist chain". These circumstances were:

"First of all, every kind of oppression—capitalist, colonial, and military—was rife in tsarist Russia; ...

"Secondly, tsarist Russia was a huge reserve force for western imperialism, and this in more ways than one. ...

"Thirdly, tsarism was not only the watchdog of imperialism in eastern

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Marxian Educational Society, Detroit, 1924. Cf. Stalin's summary of Lenin's theory of imperialism in Stalin, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

[21] See Stalin, op. cit., pp. 99-101. Trotsky calls "the weakest part of the imperialist chain" "the least barricaded door." He says: "History, as always, moved along the line of least resistance. The revolutionary epoch burst upon us through the least barricaded door."—Trotsky, *Dictatorship vs. Democracy,* p. 98.

Europe; it was also the agency through which the western imperialists collected from the Russian population the huge sums of interest that were payable upon loans floated in Paris, London, Berlin, and Brussels.

"Finally, tsarism was the faithful ally of the western imperialists in the partitioning of Turkey, Persia, China, *etc.* ..."[22]

Thirdly and lastly, there were a number of specific conditions which were favorable to the Russian proletarian revolution. Lenin writes:

"Certain specific conditions existed in Russia which do not at present exist in Western Europe, and a repetition of such conditions in another country is not very probable. These specific conditions were (1) the possibility of connecting the Soviet Revolution with the conclusions, thanks to it, of the imperialist war which had exhausted the workers and peasants to an incredible extent; (2) the possibility of making use, for a certain time, of the deadly struggle of two world-powerful groups of imperialist plunderers, who were unable to unite against their Soviet enemy; (3) the possibility of withstanding a comparatively lengthy civil war, partly because of the gigantic dimensions of the country and the bad means of communication; (4) the existence of such a profound bourgeois-revolutionary movement among the peasantry that the proletarian party included in its program the revolutionary demands of the peasant party (the Socialist Revolutionists, a party sharply hostile to Bolshevism), and at once realized these demands through the proletarian conquest of political power.

"The absence of these specific conditions—not to mention various minor ones—accounts for the greater difficulty which Western Europe must experience in beginning the Social Revolution. ..."[23]

Thus, the presence of these specific conditions explains why the proletarian revolution broke out in Russia, despite her backwardness, and their absence indicates the difficulty of the proletarian revolution even in more advanced countries. Such specific conditions are somewhat similar to what Marx once called "accidents". He says:

"... it (world history) would be of a very mystical nature if 'accidents' played no rôle. These accidents naturally fall in the general process of

[22] Stalin, op. cit., p. 83.

[23] Lenin, *"Left" Communism,* pp. 45-46; Stalin has restated these conditions in terms of "conditions at home and abroad".—Cf. Stalin, op. cit., pp. 181-182.

development of their own accord and are compensated again by other accidents. But hastening and retarding are very much dependent upon such 'accidents', among which the 'accident' of the character of the people who stand foremost at the head of the movement also figures."[24]

"The 'accident' of the character of the people who stand foremost at the head of the movement" is exactly what Stalin, in his re-statement of Lenin's theory, calls the leadership of "an experienced Party," one of the specific conditions which were favorable to the Russian proletarian revolution.[25] Therefore we are not far from correct in saying that Lenin's theory of "specific conditions" is similar to Marx's theory of "accidents".

To sum up: The Bolshevik revolution was a proletarian revolution, which happened in Russia for both general and specific reasons. But it is the specific reasons that account for its breaking out and its success in backward Russia rather than in an advanced country.

2. The Soviet Form of the State

We shall now proceed to find out whether the Soviet form of the State measures up to the Marxian standard of the political form under which to work out the economic emancipation of labor; whether it is a proletarian dictatorship; and whether it is a proletarian democracy.

To answer the first question, it is necessary to consider the main features of the Soviet organization and compare them with those of the Paris Commune, which Marx held up as the best political form.[26] In the first place, the Soviet organization is a pyramid of Soviets, or councils, of workers' and peasants' representatives, elective and revocable, with the village and city Soviets at the bottom and the All-Union Congress at the top.[27] This is

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[24] Marx, Letter to Kugelmann, dated April 17, 1871, tr. in *the Communist Monthly*, March, 1927, p. 52.

[25] Cf. Stalin, op. cit., p. 182.

[26] See supra Chapter V, Sec. 2.

[27] The description of this and the other features of the Soviet organization is based upon the following two constitutions: (1) *Decrees and Constitution of Soviet Russia*, 1918, the Nation Press, New York, and (2) *The*

similar to the rough plan of the Paris Commune for a national organization. In the second place, every Soviet is a working body, executive and legislative at the same time. This is, again, like the Commune, except that the basic city Soviet is elected on the basis of occupational representation, rather than of geographical representation as adopted by the Commune. In the third place, there are disfranchised certain classes of people such as priests, ex-police officers of the Tzar, those who hire labor for private gain, *etc.;* such disfranchisement undoubtedly indicates the proletarian character of the Soviets.[28] This proletarian character also identifies the Soviets with the Commune, although the details of the latter's electoral law are unknown.

In the fourth place, city workers have larger representation in the provincial, national and All-Union Congresses than country peasants. The reason for this discrimination is not hard to understand if we recall the Marxian idea of the proletariat. The proletariat, the wage-earning class, which predominates in cities, is considered, as noted before, the "advance-guard" of all oppressed masses, the only revolutionary class.[29] This being the case, the question is "not one of making the peasant equal to the worker on paper, but of spiritually raising the peasant to the level of the worker."[30] Therefore the proletariat, given larger representation,

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Constitution of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (adopted at the end of 1922), The Russian Information Bureau, Washington, D. C. 1924.

[28] "If the Soviets have disfranchised the exploiters, it means that they are not organs of petty bourgeois compromise with the capitalists ... but the organs of a real revolutionary proletariat..." Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution,* p. 66.

[29] Cf. supra p. 61. On the question of peasants and workers, Marx once remarks: "... the agricultural population in consequence of its dispersion over a great space, and of the difficulty of bringing about an agreement among any considerable portion of it, never can attempt a successful independent movement; they require the initiatory impulse of the more concentrated, more enlightened, more easily moved people of the towns."—Marx, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* pp. 25-26. Lenin also says: "Only the proletariat—on account of its economic rôle in production on a large scale—is capable of leading *all* the toiling and exploited masses, who are exploited, oppressed, crushed by the capitalists often more, not less, than the town proletariat, but who are incapable of carrying on the struggle for freedom unaided."—Lenin, *The State and Revolution,* p. 27.

[30] Trotsky, op. cit., p. 95. In another place, Trotsky says that the Soviet policy is built "on the actual attraction of the peasant masses, side by side

takes the leadership. This corresponds to the Commune's idea of bringing "the rural producers under the intellectual lead of the central towns of their districts",[31] although the details of the Commune's national plan regarding representation are not known.

In the above description of the features of the Soviet organization, we have shown, in each case, its identity with the Paris Commune which, in the eyes of Marx, is "the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of Labor." This identity, therefore, proves that the Soviet form of the State measures up to the Marxian standard of political organization. In the words of Lenin, " 'the Soviet power' is the second *world-historic* step, or stage, in the development of proletarian dictatorship. The first step was the Paris Commune."[32]

With regard to the second question, whether the Soviet organization, or, to use Lenin's term, the Soviet power, is a proletarian dictatorship, the affirmative answer follows from the above conclusion that it is identical with the Paris Commune. Since the Paris Commune, as we have seen, was a proletarian dictatorship,[33] the Soviet power must be likewise such a dictatorship. For the sake of clarity, however, we shall examine the question as a separate matter.

In examining the question, it should be recalled that the necessary aspect of proletarian dictatorship is the forcible suppression of the bourgeoisie, which consists in breaking up the bourgeois State machinery (standing army and bureaucracy) and in maintaining authority by the armed proletariat against the bourgeoisie.[34] It is clear that the Soviet organization, just described,

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with the proletariat, into the work of ruling the country in the real interests of the laboring masses."—Trotsky, op. cit., p. 45.

[31] Marx, *Civil War in France,* p. 47.

[32] Lenin, "A Letter to the Workers of Europe and America" (Jan. 12, 1919), *The Communist Monthly,* January 1928, p. 4; italics ours. Attention should be called to the word "world-historic step", for Lenin regards the Soviet organization as "not merely a Russian phase, but an international form of the proletarian struggle."—Cf. citations from Lenin's *Uber Gewerkschaften* in Karl Reeve, "De Leonism and Communism," *The Communist Monthly,* January-February, 1929, p. 82.

[33] Cf. supra Chapter V, Section 3.

[34] Cf. supra p. 107.

entirely displaces the Tzarist bureaucracy. It is also well known that the Red Army displaces the old Tzarist army.[35] At first sight, it seems that the Red Army is simply a new type of the standing army and that its substitution for the old one may contradict the Marxian teaching of the abolition of the standing army and of the arming of the whole population (workers and peasants). But, under a closer scrutiny, the Red Army is "a pattern for the replacement of standing armies in the near future by popular armaments."[36] To make the whole population prepared for arms, a system of "Territorial National Service" is adopted. According to this system, "the annual contingent gets six weeks' training, and serves for four years in 'Territorial' formations."[37] All this shows the attempt of Soviet Russia to carry out the Marxian teaching of popular armaments. Moreover, for the purpose of strengthening the proletarian authority against the bourgeoisie, there is established a special institution, formerly the *Cheka* (Extraordinary Commission) and now the G.P.U (State Political Department).[38] Thus all the requirements for the forcible suppression of the bourgeoisie are fairly fulfilled. As these requirements constitute proletarian dictatorship, "the Soviet rule is nothing else than the organized form of the dictatorship of the proletariat".[39]

With regard to the third question, whether the Soviet power is a proletarian democracy, the affirmative answer is again obvious, since proletarian dictatorship, as already pointed out, implies proletarian democracy.[40] Nevertheless, it will be interesting to

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[35] See *Russia To-day* (the Official Report of the British Trade Union Delegation), pp. 113-118, International Publishers, New York, 1925; and cf. *Decrees and Constitution of Soviet Russia,* p. 5.

[36] In the Preamble to the Decree of Feb. 22, 1918 for raising a Red Army, there is stated: "The workers' and Peasants' Red Army will be formed from the more conscious and organized elements of the working class. This new army will be a pattern for the replacement of standing armies in the near future by popular armaments, which will defend the coming European social revolution."—Cited in *Russia To-day,* p. 114.

[37] *Russia To-day,* p. 116.

[38] Ibid., p. 130. Cf. *The Constitution of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics,* p. 24.

[39] Lenin, *The Soviets at Work,* p. 31.

[40] Cf. supra Chapter VI, Section 1.

note exactly in what respects the Soviet power is a proletarian democracy, a democracy which, Lenin claims, is "a million times more democratic than the most democratic regime in a bourgeois republic."[41]

According to Lenin, there are six reasons which make the Soviet power superior to the bourgeois democracy:—

"The Soviets are the new State machinery. In the first place, they give expression to the armed force of the workers and peasants; in such a way, however, that this force is not divorced from the people, as was the force of the old standing army, but is bound up with them as closely as possible. In a military sense this force is incomparably greater than the former; in relation to the revolution it is second to none. Secondly, the link of this machinery with the masses, with the majority of the people, is so intimate, so indissoluble, so readily verified and renewable, that nothing like it is even approached in the former State. Thirdly, this machinery, because it is elective and its constitution is revocable in accordance with the will of the people without any bureaucratic formalities, is far more democratic than that of the old governments. Fourthly, it yields a firm connection with the most various industries and professions, thus facilitating all sorts of most radical reforms without any bureaucracy. Fifthly, it gives form to the organization of the vanguard, that is to the most conscious, most energetic, most progressive section of the *oppressed* classes of the workers and peasants, and is thus an apparatus whereby the vanguard of the oppressed classes can uplift, educate and lead in its train the *whole gigantic mass* of these classes which have until now stood quite outside all political life, outside history. Sixthly, it makes it possible to unite the advantages of parliamentarism with the advantages of immediate and direct democracy—that is, to unite in the persons of elected representatives of the people both legislative and *executive* functions. In comparison with bourgeois parlimentarism it is a step forward in the development of democracy which has a historical world significance."[42]

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[41] As noted before, according to Lenin, "proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy" (cf. supra p. 115). At the same time he also declares that "the Soviet regime is a million times more democratic than the most democratic regime in bourgeois republic."—Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution,* p. 30.

[42] Lenin, *Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?* (written in 1917), pp. 41-43, the Labour Publishing Co., London, 1922; italics Lenin's. Similar reasons are given by Lenin in his *Proletarian Revolution,* pp. 29-30, and in his *Soviets at Work,* p. 39. But the statement, quoted above, is the most

These reasons, in Lenin's opinion, explain why the Soviet power is not only a democracy, but also a better democracy than that which prevails in all other countries to-day. As it is "the direct organization of the masses," as it is "the expression of the collaboration of the workers and the exploited peasants in the struggle against the exploiters," it is "the power exercised by the majority of the population over the minority," a dictatorship by the majority and a democracy among the majority.[43] It is this type of State, this larger democracy, that is expected to wither away. Hence Stalin sums up:

"The Soviet form of State (and no other form of State), admitting the mass organizations of the workers, and the exploited generally, to direct and unconditional participation in the management of public affairs, is able to pave the way for the gradual dying out of the State, which is an essential phase of the progress towards the stateless communist society of the future."[44]

In short, the Soviet form of the State is identical with the Paris Commune. The Soviet power, just like the Commune, is a proletarian dictatorship and at the same time a proletarian democracy. It is even far more democratic than any bourgeois republic. As it is "the second world-historic step" in the development of the proletarian State, it is "not merely a Russian phase, but an international form of the proletarian struggle."[45] Hence "the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics" (U. S. S. R.), which is intended to be a "world proletarian dictatorship" if the world proletarian

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comprehensive one.

Kautsky the revisionist, speaking of the 1905 revolution in Russia, concedes that the Soviets are "a form of proletarian organization" which is "the most comprehensive of all" because they include "all wage earners", and that such organization of 1905 "has made powerful action possible and left a deep impression in the consciousness of the worker."—*The Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* pp. 70-71. He futher declares that "Soviet organization is one of the most important phenomena of our time", and that "it promises to acquire an outstanding significance in the great decisive struggles between capital and labour which are before us."—Ibid., pp. 73-74.

[43] Cf. Stalin, op. cit., pp. 119-120.

[44] Stalin, op. cit., p. 121.

[45] Cf. supra p. 150, n. 32.

revolution succeeds.[46]

3. The Rôle of the Communist Party in Proletarian Dictatorship

In the above section we have shown that the Soviet power is a proletarian dictatorship. Yet it might be argued that it is such only in form, in theory, and that it is, in reality, in practice, a party dictatorship, judging from the proportion of communists elected to public office[47] and from their percentage of the population.[48] For instance, Kautsky has repeatedly charged that proletarian dictatorship in Soviet Russia turns out to be a dictatorship of the Communist Party.[49] In answer to this charge, it is necessary to consider the rôle of the Communist Party in proletarian dictatorship. First of all, let us show the nature of the Communist Party.

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[46] Cf. *the Programme of the Communist International,* pp. 42-43.

[47] "The proportion of communists elected to office increases rapidly as one gets higher in the governmental structure. In the villages the overwhelming majority of the members of the local soviets are non-communists. The proportion, however, in the country and provincial soviets is higher, and higher yet in the All-Russian Congress. The proportion of communists in the Central Executive Committee is still higher, while the Presidium and the Council of People's Commissars are entirely composed of communists."—*Russia After Ten Years* (Report of the American Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union), p. 71, International Publishers, New York, 1927. For the actual percentage of communists in the Soviet organization, see Stuart Chase and others, *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade,* (A Joint Survey by the Technical Staff of the First American Trade Union Delegation), pp. 154-155, the John Day Company, New York, 1928.

[48] The total number of communists is over one and half million (the exact total is 1,551,000, see *the New York Times,* the Associated Press dispatch from Moscow, Jan. 24. 1930), constituting one per cent of the population (154,209,800, see Albert A. Johnson, *The Soviet Union at Work, Past, Present and Future,* Chart 2, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1929).

[49] "Starting out with the idea of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat the Bolshevist regime was bound to become the dictatorship of a party within the proletariat."—Kautsky, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* p. 85. "The dictartorship of the proletariat soon became untenable. It had led to the most rapid economic collapse of Russia. But the anarchy of this kind of dictatorship formed the soil out of which grew another kind of dictatorship, that of the Communist Party, which is in reality nothing less than the dictatorship of its leaders."—Kautsky, *The Labour Revolution,* p. 85.

The Communist Party is the party of the proletariat.[50] It is the vanguard of the proletariat,[51] which is, in turn, the vanguard of all oppressed masses.[52] The communists, as understood by Marx and Engels, "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole", but "they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."[53] Hence they are distinguished from the general mass of the proletariat only in two respects:

> "1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole."[54]

This is the nature of the Communist Party according to the founders of Scientific Socialism. The theory was further developed by Lenin, whose view of the Communist Party has been well summed up by Stalin as follows: (1) The Communist Party is "the vanguard of the working class", (2) it is "the organized detachment of the working class", and (3) it is "the highest form of class organization of the proletariat."[55]

In practice, the Communist Party enrolls as members all the best elements of the laboring masses, the most class-conscious and devoted.[56] The high percentage of the workers in the Party,[57] the

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[50] Cf. Stalin, op. cit., p. 31. Even Kautsky recognizes the Communist Party as "a party within the proletariat (cf. above n. 49). In another connection, Kautsky says: "They (peasants) willingly permitted themselves to be led by a Proletarian Party. ... The masses of the proletariat rallied to the same party ..."—*The Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* p. 137.

[51] Lenin says: "The Party is the directly managing vanguard of the proletariat; it is the leader".—Cited in Stalin, op. cit., p. 36.

[52] Cf. supra p. 61.

[53] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 30. "The Communists express the fundamental interests of the working class."—Trotsky, op. cit., p. 109.

[54] *The Communist Manifesto,* p. 30.

[55] Cf. Stalin, op. cit., pp. 162-169.

[56] Cf. the citation from Lenin, in Stalin, op. cit., p. 40; and Trotsky, op. cit., p. 110.

[57] About sixty-five per cent of the members are workers, see *the New York Times,* the Associated Press dispatch from Moscow, Jan. 24, 1930.

preference given them in the admission into membership,[58] and the close relationship of the Party to the trade unions[59]—all these show that the Party is but the representative or vanguard of the proletariat and a part or "detachment" of the proletariat.

The Marxian view of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat necessarily implies the idea that this party should play the guiding rôle in the class struggle. In the words of Stalin, "The working class without a revolutionary party is an army without a general staff. Our Party is the war staff of the proletarian army."[60] Lenin declares:

> "We are the Party of the working class. Consequently, nearly the whole of that class (in times of war and of civil war the whole of that class) should work under the guidance of our Party, should create the closest contacts with our Party. ... We should be deceiving ourselves and closing our eyes to the immensity of our task were we to belittle the difficulties ahead of us, were we to overlook the distinction between the vanguard and the masses which are attracted towards it, were we to forget that the perennial duty of the vanguard is to raise ever wider strata of the proletariat to its own level."[61]

It may be asked, however, whether there should be any more class struggle after the proletariat has seized political power and after proletarian dictatorship has been established. The answer is that since the necessary aspect of proletarian dictatorship is, as we have seen, the forcible suppression of the bourgeoisie,[62] such a dictatorship is but one form of the class struggle, a continuance of the class struggle. "The dictatorship of the proletariat", says Lenin, "is the class struggle after its victorious seizure of political power."[63] Hence the Communist Party also plays the guiding rôle in proletarian dictatorship. It is "the fundamental guiding force within the system of the dictatorship."[64]

This guiding force is indispensable both to the establishment

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[58] Cf. Stuart Chase and others, op. cit. p. 152.
[59] Cf. ibid., p. 213.
[60] Stalin, op. cit., p. 163.
[61] Cited in Stalin, op. cit., p. 164.
[62] Cf. supra pp. 106-107.
[63] Cited in Stalin, op. cit., p. 35.
[64] Stalin, op. cit., p. 31.

and to the maintenance of proletarian dictatorship. With respect to the first of these tasks, Lenin writes:

"... The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be effected through the 100 percent organization, for not only in Russia, but even in all the other capitalist countries, the proletariat is so divided, so humiliated, so corrupted in places (namely by imperialism in some countries) that it is impossible to operate the dictatorship of the proletariat through the 100 percent organization. The dictatorship of the proletariat can be effected only by the vanguard which has absorbed the revolutionary energy of the class. This results in a sort of a system of cogwheels. Such is the mechanism of the very basis of the proletarian dictatorship, of the very essence from capitalism to communism. The dictatorship cannot be effected without several 'transition lines' from the vanguard to the mass of the advanced class, and from the latter (the trade unions) to the mass of the toilers. In Russia this is a peasant mass, but even in the most advanced countries there is a non-proletarian or an 'impurely' proletarian mass."[65]

Trotsky has almost the same idea:—

"The question is of the dictatorship of a class. In the composition of that class there enter various elements, heterogeneous moods, different levels of development. Yet the dictatorship presupposes unity of will, unity of direction, unity of action. By what other path then can it be attained? The revolutionary supremacy of the proletariat presupposes within the proletariat itself the political supremacy of a party, with a clear programme of action and a faultless internal discipline."[66]

As to the second task for which the Communist Party is indispensable, the maintenance of proletarian dictatorship, Lenin writes:

"Probably almost every one can see now that the Bolsheviki could not have maintained themselves in power for two and a half years, nor even for two and a half months, without the most stringent, I may say, iron,

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[65] Lenin's speech of Dec. 30, 1920, quoted in Karl Reeve, "De Leonism and Communism," *The Communist Monthly,* January-February 1929, p. 86. In another place, Lenin remarks: "Not a single class in history achieved power without putting forward its political leaders and prominent representatives who were able to organize the movement and lead it."—Lenin, "The Party and Party Discipline" (a collection of excerpts from Lenin's writings), *The Communist Monthly,* March 1929, p. 138.

[66] Trotsky, op. cit., p. 108.

discipline in our party, and without the fullest and unreserved support rendered it by the working class, that is, by that part of it which is sensible, honest, devoted, influential, capable of leading and of inspiring the backward masses with enthusiasm."[67]

Again,

"The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a resolute, persistent, struggle, sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of the millions and tens of millions is a formidable force. Without an iron party hardened in fight, without a party possessing the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of observing the disposition of the masses and influencing them, the conduct of such a struggle is impossible."[68]

It is the indispensability, both in the establishment and in the maintenance of proletarian dictatorship, of the Communist Party that gives rise to another characteristic of the Party, namely, "the instrument for the dictatorship of the proletariat,"[69] a fourth one in addition to the three already mentioned. But through what channels, in what way, does the Party play its guiding role, exercise its leadership, in proletarian dictatorship? The answer to this involves the mechanism of proletarian dictatorship.

According to Lenin, the Party plays its guiding rôle in proletarian dictatorship, not only through the Soviets, which, as has been pointed out before, are but the organized form of such a dictatorship,[70] but also through all labor organizations, particularly through trade unions. With regard to the Party's leadership in trade unions, Lenin writes:

"In carrying on its work, the Party rests directly on the Trade Unions. ... In reality, all the controlling bodies of by far the greater number of unions, and primarily, of course, of the All-Russian Center or Bureau (A. R. C. C. T. U., All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions) consist of Communists, who carry out all the directions of the Party. Thus is ob-

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[67] Lenin, *"Left" Communism,* p. 5.
[68] Ibid., p. 26.
[69] Cf. Stalin, op. cit., pp. 169-171.
[70] Cf. supra p. 151.

tained, on the whole, a formally non-Communist, flexible, comparatively extensive and very powerful proletarian apparatus, *by means of which the Party is closely connected with the class and the masses, and by means of which, under the guidance of the Party, Class Dictatorship here is realized.*"[71]

But the mere leadership of the Party over trade unions is not a sufficient guiding of the masses. Lenin continues:

"The connection with the 'masses' through Trade Unions we admit to be insufficient. Practice in the course of the Revolution has given rise to non-party workers' and peasants' Conferences, and we endeavor by every means to support, develop, and extend such institutions in order to maintain close contact with the disposition and state of mind of the masses, to respond to their inquiries, to push forward the best of their workers to take positions in State institutions, *etc., etc.*"[72]

The Party, as pointed out by Stalin, is also "in close touch" with co-operatives of all kinds and with the League of Youth (a non-party organization of the young workers and peasants).[73] But above all, the Soviets are the most important organization in respect to the Party's leadership. Lenin again informs us:

"Then, of course, all the work of the Party is done through the Soviets, which unite the laboring masses irrespective of the difference of their trade or profession. The District *(Uyezd)* Congresses of Soviets are a democratic institution such as has never yet been seen in the most advanced bourgeois republics. Through these congresses, whose proceedings are followed by the Party with very careful attention, as well as through the constant delegation of class-conscious workmen to occupy various positions in the country, the city performs its function of leading the peasantry. Thus is carried out the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and the systematic struggle against the rich, exploiting, and speculating peasantry.

"Such is the general mechanism of the Proletarian State ...from the

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[71] Lenin, *"Left" Communism,* pp. 29-30; italics ours. Trotsky also remarks that it is "the guiding rôle of the Communist minority in the trade unions, which answers to the supremacy of the Communist Party in Soviets, and represents the political expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat." —Trotsky, op. cit., p. 110.

[72] Lenin, *"Left" Communism,* p. 30.

[73] Cf. Stalin, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

point of view of practically carrying out the Dictatorship ... "[74]

This mechanism of proletarian dictatorship, which shows how the Party plays its guiding rôle, is summarily described by Stalin as follows:

"To sum up: the *trade unions,* as mass organizations of the proletariat, linking the Party with the working class as a whole, especially in the industrial field; the *soviets,* as mass organizations of all who labour, linking the Party with these latter, especially in the political field; the *co-operatives* as mass organizations, chiefly of the peasants, linking the Party with the peasant masses, especially in the economic field and as concerns peasant participation in the work of socialist contruction; the *League of Youth,* as a mass organization of the young workers and peasants, whose function it is to help the proletarian vanguard in the socialist education of the rising generation and in the formation of young reserves; finally, the *Party,* as the essential guiding force within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and called upon to lead all the before-mentioned mass organizations—here we have, in broad outline, a picture of the 'mechanism' of the dictatorship, a picture of the 'system of the dictatorship of the proletariat'."[75]

Such is the mechanism of proletarian dictatorship whereby the Party exercises its guidance. Because of the very fact that it is the guiding force within the system of proletarian dictatorship, the Party is regarded as "the highest form of class organization of the proletariat", a fact which constitutes one of its characteristics.[76] This guilding force is unusually great. "In the Soviet Union, in the land where the dictatorship of the proletariat is in force, no important political or organizational problem is ever decided without directives from the Party."[77]

In spite of this preponderant influence, the guiding rôle of the Party does not mean the dictatorship of the Party; it does not substitute the dictatorship of the Party for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The reasons, as stated by Stalin, may be summarized

[74] Lenin, *"Left" Communism,* pp. 30-31. "It is thanks to the clarity of its theoretical vision and its strong revolutionary organization that the party has afforded to the Soviets the possibility of becoming transformed from shapeless parliaments of labor into the apparatus of the supremacy of labor."—Trotsky, op. cit., p. 109.

[75] Stalin, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

[76] Cf. supra p. 155, and Stalin, op. cit., pp. 31, 167-169.

[77] Stalin, op. cit., p. 33.

as follows:

First, the scope of proletarian dictatorship is larger than that of the guiding rôle of the Party. The issuing of directives by the Party is only a part of proletarian dictatorship; and such a dictatorship includes, in addition to the issuing of directives by the Party, "the carrying of these directives into effect on the part of the mass organizations of the proletariat," and "their being made actual by the population at large." Herein is involved the will and activities of the working class, which the Party has to take into account. Secondly, in all State activities "the 'personality' at work is the proletariat *as a class*" (Stalin's emphasis). The Party can undertake these activities only with the support of the class. Yet the Party "cannot replace the class"; and, however indispensable its guiding rôle, it is only a part of the class. Thirdly, although it governs the country through the Soviets, the Party is not identical with the Soviets which are non-Party organizations. Fourthly and lastly, the dictatorship of the proletariat is, in its strict sense, based upon force, while the authority of the Party is always based upon the confidence of the working class. The dictatorship is a rule of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie by force, while the Party is only a teacher, a leader, of the proletariat on the basis of the latter's confidence which is won, not by force, but by the soundness of Party policy and by the enthusiasm displayed by the Party in its activities.[78]

For the above reasons, the guiding rôle of the Party in proletarian dictatorship does not modify the character of such a dictatorship. This guiding rôle is not party dictatorship because the Party does not exercise its dictatorship "over the proletarian class". "Party dictatorship" is true in Soviet Russia only in one sense, in the sense of party leadership.[79] On this controversial question of party dictatorship *vs.* class dictatorship, Lenin once remarks:

"... The very question, 'Dictatorship of the party *or* dictatorship of the class, dictatorship of the leaders *or* dictatorship of the masses,' bears witness to

[78] Cf. Stalin, op. cit., pp. 34-37.

[79] Cf. ibid., pp. 33, 37.

an amazing and hopeless confusion of mind. ... It is common knowledge that the masses are divided into classes; ... that the classes are usually and in most cases led by political parties, at least in modern, civilized countries; that politically parties, as a general rule, are led by more or less stable groups of the more influential, authoritative experienced members, elected to the most responsible positions, and called leaders. All this is elementary. It is simple and plain. Why then all this rigmarole, this new *Volapuk?*"[80]

To conclude: the Communist Party, as it is the vanguard of the proletariat, plays a guiding rôle in the class struggle. This guiding function in relation to proletarian dictatorship, as revealed through practical experience, is indispensable and considerable. But as it is performed through various mass organizations, beginning from the League of Youth to the Soviets, it has not transformed proletarian dictatorship into party dictatorshp. "The Party carries out the dictatorship of the proletariat; but what it carries out is the dictatorship of the proletariat, and not the dictatorship of something else."[81] That is to say, "The Dictatorship of the proletariat is carried out by the proletariat organized in Soviets, which are led by the Communist Party."[82]

4. The Economic System

In the proletarian State, the economic system, as we have seen, is socialism.[83] Let us ask, then, does the economic system in Soviet Russia measure up to this standard? Is it socialism?

The answer to this question is complicated, first, by War Communism and, secondly, by the introduction of the New Economic Policy. The war necessarily brings about a certain amount of "socialism" (in the sense of strict State control, and ignoring the class character of the State) even in a bourgeois State, which amount depends upon the intensity of the war itself. So War Communism was by no means the sole application of Marxism, but was brought into existence by the military necessity in the

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[80] Lenin, *"Left" Communism,* p. 23.
[81] Stalin, op. cit., p. 34; italics his.
[82] Lenin, *"Left" Communism,* pp. 28-29.
[83] Cf. supra pp. 121-122.

midst of the Bolshevik revolution.[84] This being the case, it is justifiable for our present purpose to ignore the period of War Communism[85] and begin with the introduction of the New Economic Policy.

Generally speaking, the economic system in Soviet Russia as modified by the New Economic Policy is a dual system of "State Capitalism" and a certain amount of socialism, *i. e.,* limited capitalism plus limited socialism,[86] but socialism has become predominant since 1921.[87] State Capitalism is somewhat similar to State Socialism of the German type,[88] seeing that the essence of both lies in the greater degree of State control of industries than under purely individualistic or private capitalism, in an extension of

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[84] "Military Communism was made necessary by the war and the state of ruin. It did not and could not meet the problems of proletarian policy. It was a temporary measure,"—Lenin, "The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax," in Lenin and others, *The New Policies of Soviet Russia,* p. 23. This article of Lenin's first appeared in English in *the Labour Monthly,* July, 1921, pp. 18-34.

[85] The main characteristics of War Communism were: the abolition of all private business, nationalization of all means of production, elimination of the banking system and money, requisition of food supplies and exchange in goods and in kind. For details, see Leo Pasvolsky, *The Economics of Communism,* MacMillan Company, New York, 1921; and Maurice Dobb, *Russian Economic Development since the Revolution,* Chapter IV, E. P. Dulton and Company, New York, 1928.

[86] According to Trotsky, the collaboration and competition between socialism and capitalism constitute the essence of the New Economic Policy, see his *Whither Russia, Towards Socialism or Capitalism?,* pp. 24-25, tr. by R. S. Townsend and Z. Vengerova, Methuen and Co., London, 1926. Stuart Chase calls the New Economic Policy "pragmatic Socialism," i. e., "as much socialism as the exigencies of the situation would permit, and no more"—See Stuart Chase and others, op. cit.,. p. 19. In other words, pragmatic socialism is limited socialism, the limiting factor being, of course, capitalism.

[87] Cf. infra n. 121.

[88] In discussing State Capitalism, Lenin *took Germany as an example.*—Cf. Lenin, "The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax," in Lenin and others, op. cit., pp. 13-15. He has used the term State Capitalism to designate those phases of the New Economic Policy that deal with concessions, co-operatives, leases, etc., each of which will be considered later on. Other phases of the New Economic Policy that have restored private capitalism are: the re-establishment of the money and credit system, permission of private retail trade and private small industrial production, and the substitution of food tax for food requisition. For details, see Savel Zimand, *State Capitalism in Russia,* Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1926.

State functions as compared with individualistic capitalism.[89] But State Capitalism in the proletarian State does not include State industry (*i.e.*, the industry owned and operated by the State), while State Socialism in the bourgeois State does not exclude it. State industry in the proletarian State is "socialist industry"; it is socialism.[90]

Apparently the introduction of State Capitalism into a State of proletarian dictatorship seems alien to the Marxian theory, but this seemingly alien feature was brought about by the very fact that the proletarian revolution broke out and succeeded in comparatively backward Russia rather than in a highly capitalistic country.

We have already shown that this proletarian revolution was not incompatible with the Marxian theory, since Marx himself had expected a similar revolution in Germany in the 1850's. Then, in view of German economic conditions during that period, it would not have been improbable for Marx to have introduced a sort of State Capitalism into Germany if his expectation had been realized. Nevertheless, this is too general a speculation. Let us consider, more specifically, the question why Soviet Russia, a proletarian dictatorship, has introduced State Capitalism instead of pure socialism.

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[89] For the theory of State Socialism, see Gide and Rist, *History of Economic Doctrines,* pp. 436-444. Of course, the underlying philosophy of State Socialism is radically different from that of Marxism. Here the similarity between the two lies only in the immediate aim, the development of large-scale industries under the guidance and supervision of the State.

[90] According to Stalin, the difference between socialism (not State Socialism) and State Capitalism is this: In the case of socialism, or State industry in the proletarian State, "in the process of production, there are not two hostile classes (proletariat and bourgeoisie), but only one class (proletariat)". On the other hand, "State Capitalism, even under the proletarian dictatorship, is an organization of production in which production is carried on by two opposed classes: the exploiter and the exploited."—See Stalin, *Leninism,* p. 387. Here the definition of State Capitalism is not quite inclusive, because it cannot apply to co-operatives which, according to Lenin, are one form of, or at least similar to, State capitalism. In co-operative production there is only one class involved. Yet it is still capitalistic because it is still a production of "commodities" (in the Marxian sense). This is perhaps the peculiar nature of cooperative industry which is neither entirely capitalistic nor entirely socialistic.

The reason for this, according to Lenin, is as follows: "Socialism is impossible without large capitalist technique constructed according to the last word in science, without systematic State organization subjecting millions of people to the strict observation of a uniform standard of production and distribution of products."[91] But in Soviet Russia "pre-capitalists relations" prevailed.[92] There were various elements in the socio-economic strata,[93] among which petty bourgeois capitalism predominated.[94] While it would be suicidal to prohibit its development, an inevitable one in view of the existence of millions of small-commodity producers, the only alternative for achieving socialism was "to direct it in the path of State Capitalism."[95] From petty bourgeois capitalism *"a single road, through the same intervening stations called national accounting and control* of production and distribution, leads both to State Capitalism and Socialism."[96] Moreover, "State Monopolist capitalism under a really revolutionary government will inevitably mean a step toward Socialism. . . . For Socialism is nothing else than an immediate step forward from State Capitalist-Monopoly."[97] In short, with State Capitalism *in a proletarian State,* "you will get the sum of conditions which gives Socialism".[98] It is the class character that distinguishes State Capitalism in Soviet Russia from State Capitalism in

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[91] Lenin, "The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax," in Lenin and others, op. cit., p. 14.

[92] Ibid., p. 37.

[93] Lenin has enumerated five elements: patriarchal peasant production, small commodity production including the majority of peasants who sell grain (i. e., petty bourgeois capitalism), private capitalism, State Capitalism and socialism.—Ibid., p. 11. Cf. Stalin, op cit., pp. 386-387.

[94] Lenin, "The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax," in Lenin and others, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[95] Ibid., pp. 26-27. "In this connection we must also bear in mind that our poverty and ruin is such that we cannot immediately establish large State Socialist Factory Production".—Ibid., p. 24. Again, Lenin remarks: "Facts have clearly demonstrated that we shall have to defer the reconstruction of large-scale industry, and *it is impossible to carry on industry in separation from agriculture.* Therefore we must first tackle the easier problem of re-establishing crafts and small-scale industry, which have been destroyed by the war and blockade."—Ibid., p. 38; italics ours.

[96] Ibid., p. 16; italics Lenin's.

[97] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[98] Ibid., p. 14.

Germany.[99]

Thus, State Capitalism, introduced by the New Economic Policy, was intended as a transition from petty bourgeois capitalism to socialism, intended to build up socialism. Consequently the New Economic Policy was not a surrender to capitalism, but "pragmatic socialism."[100] It was a policy "based upon the toleration of capitalism, while keeping all the commanding positions in the hands of the proletarian State;" a policy based "upon the creation of the fundamentals of a socialist economy."[101] As this idea of building up socialism in a comparatively backward proletarian state through a transition stage of State Capitalism was

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[99] Discussing the New Economic Policy, Bukharin concludes: "We make concessions to secure the equilibrium of the Soviet system. ... We might as well say that there is an army in France and there is an army here, a police system there and an Extraordinary Commission here. The essential point is—what are the class functions of these institutions, and which class do they serve?"—See his "New Economic Policy of Soviet Russia," in Lenin and others, op. cit., p. 61.

[100] Cf. above n. 86. Hilquit overlooks the nature of the New Economic policy when he asserts that it "was nothing but a surrender to the system of private capitalism."—See his "Roads to Labor or Socialist Control," in Laidler and Thomas, *The Socialism of Our Times,* p. 69.

Speaking of War Communism, Kautsky reproaches the Bolshevik leaders with the following remarks: "Where it (the proletariat) did obtain political power, it had to introduce only so much of socialism as was possible under the existing conditions, and in a form corresponding to those particular conditions."—*Terrorism and Communism,* p. 145. Again, "A Socialist Party led by a truly Marxian spirit would adapt the present problems confronting the victorious proletariat to the material and psychical conditions to be found ready to hand; and would not endeavor, without further reflection, to introduce an immediate and complete socialism in a land of undeveloped capitalist production like Russia."—Ibid., pp. 155-156. These remarks are exactly what the New Economic Policy means. Then this policy was not contrary to the "truly Marxian spirit", even according to Kautsky. But on the question of concessions, a form of State Capitalism, which were still at the stage of discussion in 1919 when Kautsky published his *Terrorism and Communism,* he also criticizes the Bolshevik leaders: "They (Bolsheviks) began with a merciless expropriation of capital, and at the present moment are preparing to hand over to American capitalists the mineral treasures of half Russia, in order to gain their assistance and in every way to come to some terms with foreign capital."—Ibid., p. 216. Again, "... they have already renounced their Communist program."—Ibid., p. 217. Thus, the position of Soviet Russia is between the devil and the deep sea!

[101] Cf. Stalin, op. cit., p. 435.

not conceived of by Marx and Engels, it may be said to constitute an extension of Marxism.

Let us turn to the concrete forms of State Capitalism and socialism in Soviet Russia. We may take the concrete forms of State Capitalism first. One form is concessions, which are "a treaty, a block and alliance of the Soviet, *i.e.*, the proletarian, State with State Capitalism, against small private ownership (patriarchal and petty bourgeois)."[102] "In 'planting' State Capitalism in the form of concessions, the Soviet Government strengthens large production against small production, the advanced against the backward, machine against hand production, it increases the quantity of products of large industry in its hands and strengthens the State regulation of economic relations as a counter-balance to the petty bourgeois anarchic relations."[103]

Another form of State Capitalism is co-operative societies whose freedom and rights have been extended by new laws. These new laws have been enacted for the purpose of applying to local Free Trade which was revived by the Agricultural Tax, a policy similar to the concession.[104] "In so far as the Agricultural Tax signifies the freedom to sell the remainder of produce (not taken as tax), it is necessary to exert all our efforts to direct this development of Capitalism—for freedom of trade is the development of Capitalism—along the path of co-operative Capitalism. Co-operative Capitalism is like State Capitalism in that it simplifies control, observation, and the maintenance of treaty relations between the State and the capitalists." Moreover, "it facilitates the organization of millions of the population and later the whole of the population."[105] In short, "the policy of co-operation in the event of success will raise small industry and facilitate, in an indefinite period, its transition to large production on the basis of

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[102] Lenin, "The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax", in Lenin and Others, op. cit., p. 28.

[103] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[104] Ibid., p. 32.

[105] Ibid., p. 33.

voluntary combination."[106]

A third form of State Capitalism is this: "The State invites the capitalist as a merchant and pays him a definite commission for selling State products and for buying the products of small industry. There is a fourth form: the State leases a factory or land to a capitalist; in this case, the lease agreement is more like a concession agreement."[107]

All these forms of State Capitalism are "*indirect* paths and methods" adopted "for the transition from pre-capitalist relations to Socialism." To the extent that the direct transition from small production to socialism could not be realized, directing capitalism along the path of State Capitalism serves "as an indirect link between small production and Socialism, as a means, a path, a method of raising the productive forces of the country."[108]

With regard to the concrete forms of socialism in Soviet Russia, the first one is socialization, or nationalization. According to the Soviet constitution of 1918, there were to be socialized land and other natural resources, railroads and other means of transportation, factories and other means of production.[109] The New Economic Policy did not abandon this principle of socialization, but simply exempted small enterprises (those employing not more than twenty persons) from future nationalization, or restored these small enterprises if already nationalized to their former owners.[110] As to the actual extent of socialization, Trotsky, at the end of 1925, pointed out that the Soviet government owned all land, all railways, 4 per cent. of the means of agricultural

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[106] Ibid., p. 35.

[107] Ibid, p. 36.

[108] Ibid., pp. 36, 38. To Lenin, the direct transition from small production to socialism is possible only on one condition, electrification, but "this 'one' condition demands at least tens of years of work." He further declares: 'Capitalism is an evil in comparison with Socialism, but Capitalism is a blessing in comparison with mediaevalism, with small industry, with fettered small producers thrown to the mercy of bureaucracy."—Ibid., p. 37.

[109] Cf. *Decrees and Constitution of Soviet Russia,* p. 4.

[110] Cf. Zimand, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

production, over 60 per cent. of capital funds, 89 per cent. of the means of industrial production (supplying 79 per cent. of total industrial products); that 70 per cent. of the total domestic trade was in the hands of the State and co-operative societies; and that the total foreign trade and the entire credit system were in the hands of the State alone.[111] An outside observer, Stuart Chase, stated in 1928, that "The ownership of land, natural resources, over 80 per cent. of industrial production, two-thirds of the distribution system, have been socialized in Russia," and that "the tendency in the past four years is for both private production and distribution to take a decreasing percentage of the total business."[112] According to the recent official statistics, the state enterprises control over 90 per cent. of the output of the "census industries.[113] about 70 per cent. of total industrial production, and a little less than 40 per cent. of the total domestic trade.[114] Thus, in spite of the fact that the socialization of agriculture is very

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[111] Cf. Trotsky, *Whither Russia,* pp. 32-52.

[112] Stuart Chase and others, op. cit., p. 17.
Here the socialized amount of production and distribution includes co-operative production and distribution. This is in accordance with the usage of the term "socialized sector" in Soviet Russia, which term, as used by the Soviet authorities, always means both the State and co-operative enterprises (cf. *The Soviet Union Looks Ahead, the Five-year Plan for Economic Construction,* published by the Presidium of the *Gosplan* and tr. by Horace Liveright, New York, 1929).

[113] *Economic Statistics of the Soviet Union,* pp. 20, 62, June 1928, Amtorg Trading Corporation, New York; cf. *The Soviet Union Looks Ahead,* Appendix, p. 254. By "census industries" are meant establishments using mechanical power which employ fifteen workers or more and those not using mechanical power which employ thirty workers or more.
As to the reliability of Russian statistics, R. T. Bye has well explained: "None are more keenly aware of the need for accurate information than the Soviet officials. The figures which appear in published documents are those which the government itself relies upon as a basis for forming its policies. There is, then, no reason to believe that they are deliberately deceptive."—R. T. Bye, "The Central Planning and Co-ordination of Production in Soviet Russia," *The American Economic Review,* Vol. XIX, no. 1, Supplement, p. 95, March 1929.

[114] All these figures are those for the fiscal year 1927-28 (Oct. 1-Sept. 30), given in "The Soviet Union Looks Ahead", Appendix II, pp. 254-255. If we add the share of the co-operative enterprises, the "socialized sector" (both the State and co-operative enterprizes) controls about 80 per cent. of total industrial production and over 86 per cent. of the total domestic trade—Ibid.

slight,[115] the socialization of industry and trade is carried out to the largest possible extent.

Another form of socialism that we find in Soviet Russia is the national planning and co-ordination of production. The idea and practice of the national planning of a specific industry (such as in the case of the credit system, the post office, *etc.*,) is not uncommon in a bourgeois State, but the principle of the national planning of all branches of industry, including their co-ordination, is necessarily implied in socialism since socialism requires the socialization of all means of production. Such planning and co-ordination of production in Soviet Russia are in charge of a State Planning Commission, known as the *Gosplan.*[116] There are the All-Union *Gosplan,* a Planning Commission in each of the six constituent Republics and subordinate planning organizations in the various regions and provinces. The All-Union *Gosplan,* attached to the Council of Labor and Defense,[117] has direction over all State and local planning commissions. This Council, on the basis of the advice of the *Gosplan,* decides on matters of policy and gives general orders, while the actual work of directing production is done by the various Commissariats of the U. S. S. R. and constituent Republics. The *Gosplan* also reviews the plans submitted by the Supreme Economic Council, which, being

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[115] In the fiscal year 1927-28, the "socialized sector" in agriculture produced only 1.8 per cent. of the total agricultural output (1.2 per cent. belongs to the State farms) and 4.4 per cent. of its marketable portion (3.6 per cent belongs to the State farms)—Ibid. But in the fiscal year 1928-29 the co-operative farms alone furnished 12 per cent. of the commercial grain, while 55 enormous State farms were established and 65 more to be added—see Edgar S. Farniss, "Initial Success of Soviet Industrialization", *Current History,* Jan. 1930, p. 810. So the share of the "socialized sector" in total agricultural production to-day is probably is 10 per cent. (14.7 per cent. is the estimate for 1932-33 in the five-year plan, cf. *The Soviet Union Looks Ahead,* Appendix II, p. 254), and the remaining 90 per cent. belongs to private farms.

[116] For a detailed description of the *Gosplan,* see Bye, op. cit.

[117] The Council of Labor and Defense is an important committee of the Council of People's Commissars, and it is composed of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Commissars of various departments and representatives of the All-Russian council of Trade Unions. Its purpose is to regulate the general economic life of the nation.—See Stuart Chase and others, op. cit., p. 120.

in control of the national industries, has a series of planning boards connected with its administrative branches. The *Gosplan* has drawn up one-year, five-year and fifteen-year programs,[118] which chart the course upon which the production of all industries is to be directed. Here we have, to use Engels's phrase, "socialized production upon a predetermined plan" instead of "anarchy in social production".[119]

These two forms of socialism, together with State Capitalism, constitute the main economic system of Soviet Russia. As State Capitalism was intended to combat the private and petty bourgeois capitalism and to serve as the transitional link toward full socialism, it was not "a surrender to the system of private capitalism."[120] Moreover, since 1921 socialism has become predominant, while State Capitalism has "not made serious headway."[121] Even granting that the existence of State Capitalism, side by side

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[118] "The Soviet Union Looks Ahead" covers the five-year plan for the period 1928-29 to 1932-33.

[119] Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 139.

[120] Cf. above n. 100.

[121] Stalin spoke in 1925: " ... It follows that, since 1921, circumstances have changed very much; that our socialist industry and our Soviet and cooperative trade have already gained the upper hand; that our own industry and our own trade have been able, of themselves, to cement the ties between town and village; that the most glaring forms of State capitalism (concessions and the leasing of enterprises) have not made serious headway. Now, in the year 1925, any one who speaks of State capitalism as the dominant form of economic life in Soviet Russia, is completely misrepresenting the social character of our State industry, is utterly misunderstanding the difference between the past and the present situation, ... "—Stalin, op. cit., p. 437. In the five-year plan for 1928-29 to 1932-33, "The part assigned (in the financing of development and production projects) to foreign capital invested in concessions is altogether insignificant, hardly amounting to one per cent of all new basic capital investments for the five years."—*The Soviet Union Looks Ahead,* Appendix I, p. 224.

As the five-year plan is intended to develop the productive forces of the country "through socialist reorganization of rural life, through systematic socialization of every field and process of life" (cf. *The Soviet Union Looks Ahead,* p. 185), its success or failure will serve as an indicator of the rise or decline of socialism. Although its final results cannot be foretold, the favorable results of its first year (1928-29) certainly show that socialism has gained ground. Cf. Furniss, op. cit.; and Joseph Stalin, "The Year of the Great Change", and K. Rothenthal, "The 'Observations of An Economist' in the Light of the Results of the First Year of the Five-Year Plan", both of which appear in *International Press Correspondence,* Nov. 15, 1929.

with socialism, in a proletarian State is an extension of Marxism, it is the ascendency of socialism that keeps Soviet Russia within the Marxian formula.

5. Functions of the Soviet Power

The functions of the Soviet power, just as conceived in theory, are twofold: political and economic. The political function is the suppression of the bourgeoisie and the economic function is the establishment of socialism.[122] For the purpose of suppressing the bourgeoisie there are maintained, as we have seen, the Red Army and the G. P. U.[123] For the purpose of establishing socialism there has been introduced, as pointed out in the previous section, a dual system of socialism and State Capitalism. As this system is a complicated one, the economic functions of the Soviet power are likewise complicated. It is due to this complicated economic system, which had not been conceived in the theory, that we find a complication, instead of a simplification, as had been expected in theory, of the economic functions of proletarian dictatorship. This is, then, another extension of Marxism. We shall consider specifically the complicated economic functions of the Soviet power, since these are the constructive phase of a proletarian State.

First, there is the State operation of a large number of industrial and trading enterprises. About 70 per cent. of all industrial output is turned out by State industries through State trusts (exclusive of co-operative industries); and transportation, both land and water, the postal service, telegraphs, telephones and radio service are run directly by government departments, the Commissariats.[124] Almost 40 per cent. of the total domestic trade, which, as already noted, is under the direct control of the Soviet power, is carried on by public syndicates.[125] Foreign trade is a

[122] Cf. supra p. 118.

[123] Cf. supra p. 151.

[124] Cf. Stuart Chase and others, op. cit., p. 23.

[125] Cf. ibid., pp. 24-25. Here the percentage of domestic trade, as well as that of industrial output, controlled by the State enterprises, is that for the fiscal year 1927-28 (cf. supra p. 169) and is therefore slightly different from the figures given by Stuart Chase.

State monopoly and the bulk of it is handled by the State trading organizations.[126] The producing trusts, direct State organizations, are under the control of the Supreme Economic Council, in respect to general policy, prices, fixed capital, and the appointment of managing boards,[127] while the mercantile syndicate, organized by the State trusts, are also controlled by the Supreme Economic Council with regard to the approval of their organization, the confirmation of directors and auditors, the audit, their distribution of dividends, their dissolution, and their buying and selling prices.[128]

Moreover, the State operation of industrial and trading enterprises necessarily includes systematic planning, which, as we have seen, is the work of the Supreme Economic Council and the *Gosplan*...If we consider the planning function alone, its complexity is indicated by the employment of a large number of experts in the *Gosplan*.[129] State production and distribution involve several hundred trusts (among which there are sixty major ones), some twenty syndicates,[130] and a number of foreign trade delegations and agencies.[131] The task of controlling these organizations is undoubtedly tremendous.

Secondly, there is the State regulation of private and semi-private industry and trade, private agriculture, and labor. As purely private industry and trade exist only on a small scale and their development is checked by State Capitalism, their regulation is rather an easy matter, although their share in the total industrial production and trade turnover is larger than that of semi-private industry and trade. The adoption of State Capitalism is itself a means of regulating private industry and trade.

In the category of semi-private industry and trade may be

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[126] Cf. Zimand, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

[127] Cf. Stuart Chase and others, op. cit., p. 20.

[128] Cf. ibid., p. 24; Zimmand, op. cit., p. 37; and *Russia To-day*, pp. 77-78.

[129] "In 1926, the Planning Commissions in the Russian Republic alone employed 950 persons. ... More than five hundred persons are now employed in the Central Gosplan offices at Moscow".—Bye, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

[130] Cf. Stuart Chase and others, op. cit., pp. 20 and 24.

[131] Cf. Zimand, op. cit., p. 16.

included all those industrial and trading enterprises in the form of concessions, leases, co-operatives, and licensed private organizations for purposes of foreign trade.[132] Being on a larger scale, such enterprises, intended to combat private, petty bourgeois capitalism, have themselves to be regulated so as to conform to the national economic plan and to give way to socialism. In the case of concessions and leases, the terms and conditions of the contract, like the articles of a charter, include the regulatory provisions.[133] For example, the requirement of a minimum production imposes upon concessionaires and lessees a public responsibility.[134] Supervision over the carrying out of a number of these contracts[135] is not a simple matter. The co-operative enterprises are regulated by law, but there are no definite contracts or terms. So it is rather difficult for the government to "keep an eye" on the co-operatives,[136] especially when their number is increasing.[137] Where private corporations and individuals are permitted to take part in foreign trade under license for a specified period and purpose, the State has to supervise these private trade corporations and individuals, as well as other semi-private institutions engaged in foreign trade.[138] Such supervision, of course, involves regulation. The function of regulating and controlling both domestic and foreign trade belongs to the Commissariat for Home

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[132] Enterprises operated by concessions and leases are semi-private because their ownership belongs to the State (cf. *Russia To-day,* p. 75.); co-operatives are semi-private because they are operated on a price cutting basis (cf. Stuart Chase and others, op. cit., p. 25); and licensed private enterprises engaged in foreign trade are semi-private because foreign trade is a State monopoly and such enterprises are limited to a specified period and purpose.

[133] For details, see Stuart Chase and others, op. cit., pp. 351-352.

[134] Cf. *Russia To-day,* p. 77.

[135] During the five years ending November 1, 1927, "163 concessions were granted, of which 113 are at present in operation".—*Economic Statistics of the Soviet Union,* June 1928, p. 68.

[136] Cf. Lenin, "The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax", in Lenin and others, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

[137] In 1927, consumers' co-operatives alone were 28,800 in number.—Stuart Chase and others, op. cit., p. 254. In 1929, the co-operative farms exceeded 35,000—K. Rosenthal, op. cit.

[138] Other semi-private institutions engaged in foreign trade are co-operative commercial organizations and mixed companies (see Zimand, op. cit., p. 16, and *Russia To-day,* pp. 101-102).

and Foreign Trade,[139] while the authority over industry rests with the Council of Labor and Defense and the Supreme Economic Council.[140]

In the case of private agriculture whose produce, as has already been noted, constitutes about 90 per cent. of the total agricultural output,[141] the State, in order to mechanize it for the socialist large-scale production and to make immediate improvements for increasing productivity, undertakes a vast task of regulation and promotion. For instance, there are the re-organization of the land system, the provision of cheap capital equipment, the furnishing of expert aid, the creation of an argricultural credit system and price-fixing for agricultural products.[142] The Commissar of Agriculture, of course, performs the major work. As to labor regulation, it covers hours of work, wages, rest times, vacations, social insurance, labor agreements, labor inspection and unemployment.[143] Each of the Commissars of Labor, Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Health, and Social Welfare, has a share of authority over labor regulation, while the Trade Unions play a not insignificant part.

Moreover, the regulation of private capitalism is also involved in taxation and in the price policy. For instance, the income and property taxes are intended to curb the development of capitalists,[144] and a discrimination in favor of the worker in prices charged for house rent, theatre tickets, *etc.*,[145] is a regulatory measure against the bourgeoisie. In short, the field of State regulation in Soviet Russia is rather extensive.

Thirdly, there is the State promotion of industry and agriculture. As a result of the policy of industrialization which the Soviet leaders have so much stressed,[146] the promotional policy is

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[139] Cf. Zimand, op. cit., p. 15.
[140] Cf. *Russia To-day*, p. 82.
[141] Cf. supra n. 115.
[142] For details, see Stuart Chase and others, op. cit., pp. 55-102.
[143] Cf. ibid., pp. 216-238; and *Russia Today*, pp. 176-184.
[144] Cf. Stuart Chase and others, op. cit., p. 168.
[145] Cf. *Russia To-day*, pp. 144 and 159.
[146] See Lenin, "The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax", in Lenin and others, op. cit., and Trotsky, *Whither Russia*.

revealed in the national economic plan. Consider the latter policy specifically. The regulatory measures in respect to agriculture, as above indicated, include promotional measures. The policy of checking private capitalism by State Capitalism is at the same time a policy of promoting State Capitalism. In the case of State enterprises, the appropriation of profits of one industry for covering the loss of another is a policy of promoting the latter.[147] The promotional function, however, is most pronounced in the foreign trade policy. Foreign trade monopoly, as Trotsky put it, is "protection expressed at its highest." He continues:

"Protection makes it possible to withstand the pressure of the volume of goods from capitalist countries by regulating it in accordance with the requirements of home production and consumption. In this way protection is able to ensure socialist industries the period necessary for raising their productive standard."[148]

In other words, foreign trade monopoly is adopted to safeguard home industries. Speaking of this monopoly, Lenin remarks:

"... without such a monopoly, we will not be able to 'get rid of' foreign capital except by the payment of a 'tribute'. Whatever possibility of Socialist construction exists, depends on whether we shall be able to *protect our internal economic independence during the transition period* by paying some 'tribute' to foreign capital."[149]

At first sight, this idea of self-sufficiency, or economic independence, which is undoubtedly a nationalistic one, seems contrary to the internationalistic idea of Marxism. But we must not ignore the fact that Soviet Russia, a proletarian State, exists in a world full of bourgeois countries. Should a few more countries be transformed into proletarian States, the Soviet policy of maintaining economic independence would be modified. On this point Stalin frankly says:

"Our constructive work, like all our other work, has to be carried on in a world which, outside Russia, is still capitalist. This means that the

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[147] Stuart Chase and others, op. cit., p. 21.
[148] Trotsky, *Whither Russia,* p. 67.
[149] Lenin, *The Soviets at Work,* p. 18; italics ours.

development of our economic life and our socialist construction takes place amid the antagonisms, amid the clashes, between our economic system and the capitalist system. ...

"From this it follows that we must upbuild our economy in such a way that our country shall not be transformed into an appendage of the capitalist world system; ... but as an independent economic unity, mainly relying upon the home market, upon the interrelationships between our own manufacturing industry and our own peasant agriculture.

. .....

"But this position of affairs will continue only so long as our country is surrounded by capitalist countries. *The position will be altered as soon as the revolution has taken place in Germany or in France, or in both these countries;* as soon as socialist construction has begun there upon a higher technical foundation than exists in Russia. *Then we shall be able to modify the policy of making our country an independent economic entity, and change over to a policy of incorporating our country into the general system of socialist development.* Meanwhile, pending the revolution in France, or Germany, or both, we must maintain in Soviet Russia that minimum of independence in economic life which is essential as a safeguard against the economic subordination of Soviet Russia to the system of world capitalism"[150]

Therefore the nationalistic policy of maintaining economic independence through economic protection, adopted by the Soviet power, is to meet the peculiar situation which had not been conceived in theory. This may be said to be a further extension of Marxism. There are, nevertheless, in Soviet Russia evidences of those phases of internationalism which are not handicapped in application by the present conditions, such as the legal status accorded to foreign workers[151] and the voluntary relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China.[152]

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[150] Stalin, op. cit., pp. 382-384; italics ours.

[151] Cf. *Decrees and Constitution of Soviet Russia,* p. 20.

[152] The only privilege in China which has not been entirely given up by Soviet Russia is that in connection with the Chinese Eastern Railway. It is well known that since 1924 Soviet Russia has still retained half of the ownership and control of the railway, after having conceded the other half to China. The recent controversy over the railway between China and Soviet Russia, which has not quite been settled, indicates the intention of the latter to continue the maintenance of her half share in the railway. The question arises whether Soviet Russia is nationalistic or internationalistic.

Let us sum up what has been said about the economic functions of the Soviet power. Its operative function is wide, as a result of the nationalization of industries. Its regulatory function is extensive because of the existence of private capitalism and State Capitalism. Its promotional function is pronounced owing to the large-scale industrialization of a comparatively backward country, and owing to the maintenance of economic independence pending the proletarian revolution in other countries. In a word, there is a complexity of economic functions of the State.

6. Recapitulation

As we have tested the application of Marxism in Soviet Russia in its major aspects, we may now recapitulate the extent of this application. In the first place, the breaking out and success of the Bolshevik revolution, which is a proletarian revolution, is not unexpected in the general Marxian theory. It happened in comparatively backward Russia rather than in a highly capitalistic country because of (1) Russia's position as the weakest part of the imperialist chain, (2) certain circumstances which made her as such and (3) a number of "specific conditions" favorable to the revolution. The new theory that, in an epoch of imperialism, the proletarian revolution breaks out "where the chain of imperialism is weakest" is Lenin's extension of Marx's theory of revolution. The new theory of certain "specific conditions", also expounded by Lenin, is somewhat similar to Marx's theory of "accidents".

In the second place, the Soviet form of the State conforms closely to the theory for the following reasons: (1) Its governmental structure is identical with that of the Paris Commune;

As this question involves a complicated situation (the Chinese Eastern Railway) and deserves a special study, suffice it here to say that from the standpoint of Soviet Russia the answer may be similar to the answer to the question of economic independence. That is to say, as long as China is not free from the imperialists' control, Soviet Russia will continue to retain her half share in the Chinese Eastern Railway, in order to protect herself from the imperialists' attack, especially in view of the close connection of this railway with the Russian Siberian Railway. It should be understood that the writer is here dealing solely with the psychology of Soviet Russia, with the theory of communism.

(2) the Soviet power is a proletarian dictatorship since it has broken the old State machinery (Tzarist bureaucracy and army) and established the G. P. U. for suppressing the bourgeoisie; and (3) the Soviet power is also a proletarian democracy since it is "the direct organization of the masses."

In the third place, the guiding rôle of the Communist Party in proletarian dictatorship is based upon Marx's idea that the Party is the vanguard of the proletariat—an idea that implies the party's guidance in the class struggle. But the indispensability of such guidance to the establishment and to the maintenance of proletarian dictatorship is only revealed through practical experience. Hence Lenin's refinement of Marx's theory of the nature of the Party, which refinement includes "the Party as the instrument for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In the fourth place, the introduction of State Capitalism as a part of the new economic system is not provided for in the original Marxian theory. It was not foreseen that if the proletarian revolution first succeeded in a comparatively backward country like Russia, a transitional stage of State Capitalism would be necessary, although Marx himself expected in the 1850's a proletarian revolution in Germany, which was equally backward during that period. It is here found, for the first time, to be a necessary step from small capitalism to complete socialism, thus constituting another extension of Marxism. But taking the economic system of Soviet Russia as a whole to-day, it is predominantly socialistic, since State Capitalism, after 1921, has become insignificant as compared with socialism, with socialist industry. In other words, the economic system of Soviet Russia conforms more and more to the theoretical system from day to day.

In the fifth place, the functions of the Soviet power are similar to those of proletarian dictatorship as conceived in theory, but its economic functions are complicated rather than simplified on account of the complicated economic system. Then this complexity of economic functions is also an extension of Marxism. In connection with the promotional function there is a further

extension of Marxism, namely, the adoption of the nationalistic policy of maintaining economic independence through economic protection for the reason that in a comparatively backward proletarian State surrounded by bourgeois countries, this policy is indispensable to socialist construction for the period pending the proletarian revolution in these countries. But there are, in Soviet Russia, also evidences of those phases of internationalism which are not handicapped in application under present circumstances.

In short, in Soviet Russia, Marxism has been fairly complied with—complied with as far as actual conditions permit. Even in physical sciences no theoretical formula can be applied with 100 per cent. accuracy. Hence it is no wonder that, in this case, new principles have been formulated in view of practical considerations. These new principles are extensions or refinements, rather than violations, of Marxism, because the conditions to which they have been applied were not anticipated in the theory. Since nearly all of these extensions of Marxism, together with many other minor ones,[153] have been championed by Lenin, and since those elaborations of Marxism as incorporated in the previous chapters, particularly in Chapters VI-VII, have been worked out also by him, the term Leninism is an appropriate designation for such extensions and such elaborations of Marxism. In other words, it is Lenin who has brought Marxism "up to date".[154] Indeed, Lenin is the Martin Luther of Marxism.

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[153] As to Lenin's minor extensions of Marxism, we may mention the theory of colonial revolutions, the theory of unequal development of capitalism, the theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, the theory regarding the relation of the proletariat to the peasants, *etc.*, all appear in articles and speeches. For a summary of all these theories, see Stalin, op. cit.

[154] "It is the great achievement of Lenin not merely to have brought Marxism 'up to date', but in so doing to have fulfilled its very life principle and allowed it to realize itself anew."—D. Landy, Introductory Note to his translation of Engels's "Introduction to Marx's Civil War in France", *The Communist Monthly,* March 1927, p. 41.

CHAPTER IX

AN ESTIMATE OF MARXISM

1. Genesis and Growth of Marxism

In the preceding pages, we have analyzed in detail the Marxian theory of the State, together with its philosophical background and its perspective of the stateless-communistic society, and have also examined its application in Soviet Russia. Now we are in a position to make an estimate of this theory, which may begin with a brief account of its genesis and growth.

The causes that produced Marxism may be divided into two kinds: those found in the intellectual, and those found in the material, environment of Marx. In our analysis of his historical materialism, it has been indicated that Marx combined French materialism with Hegelian dialectics. Thus it is evident that intellectually Marx was under the influence of the French materialists, including French Socialists,[1] and the Hegelian school of philosophy. Besides, Ricardo's "bourgeois economics," to use a Marxian phrase, which embodied a labor theory of value and a class-struggle theory of distribution,[2] was not without effect upon Marx's formulation of his Scientific Socialism.[3] All these influences have been recognized by eminent critics.[4]

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[1] Marx himself remarked that one tendency of French materialism which had its origin in Locke "merged directly into socialism", and that "French and English socialism and communism represented materialism which coincided with humanism in the practical sphere."—Marx, "French Materialism", in Marx, *Selected Essays,* p. 181.

[2] See David Ricardo, *Works,* McCulloch's edition, pp. 55, 63, London 1852. Cf. Gide and Rist, *History of Economic Doctrines,* p. 160; L. H. Haney, *History of Economic Thought,* p. 273, McMillan Company New York, 1920; and W. A. Scott. *The Development of Economics* (unpublished manuscript), Vol. I, p. 132 (2 vols.).

[3] See Marx, *Theorien über den Mehrwert,* Vol. III, Stuttgart, 1910. This book, written in 1863-65, which deals with the history of economic theory, was originally intended to be the 4th volume of *Das Kapital,* and the editing of the manuscript was assigned by Engels to Karl Kautsky. The latter published the book under the present title in 4 volumes in 1905-11.

[4] For the critics' view on the relation of Marx to Hegel, see Max Beer, *Life and Teaching of Karl Marx,* Introduction; J. R. Common's, "Marxism To-day: Capitalism and Socialism", *The Atlantic Monthly,* November 1925,

If we follow historical materialism, we might say that the material environment of Marx was more important in producing Marxism than his intellectual environment. The economic conditions in Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century were miserable. On the one hand, there were manifested in England the evils of capitalism such as long hours of work, exploitation of child and woman labor, *etc.*[5] On the other hand, following the Napoleonic Wars, there was business depression with falling wages and unemployment, which precipitated the Revolution of 1848 in France and Germany.[6] It was natural that a genius like Marx, with a mind full of French materialism, Hegelian dialectics and Ricardian economics and with a heart set on improving humanity as a whole, should offer a new Gospel of Salvation, a new type of Socialism. Therefore it is not without significance that *the Holy Family, the Poverty of Philosophy* and, above all, *the Communist Manifesto,* were all written in the 1840's. Having worked out a theoretical system and a practical program, Marx spent the rest of his life in elaborating the system and in carrying out the program. Such was the genesis of Marxism.

Engels, the life-long friend and collaborator of Marx, faithfully accepted Marx's leadership[7] and helped, from time to time, to

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p. 11; Laski, *Karl Marx: An Essay,* p. 4; and Veblen, "The Socialist Economics of Karl Marx and His Followers, I", in *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization and Other Essays,* p. 411. For the critics' view of the relation of Marx to Ricardo, see Max Beer, "The Revival of Anti-Marxism" (a book review), *The Labour Monthly,* November 1921, pp. 417-427, and *Life and Teaching of Karl Marx,* pp. 126; Commons, "Marxism Today: Capitalism and Socialism", *The Atlantic Monthly,* November 1925, p. 3; and Gide and Rist, op. cit., p. 466.

[5] Cf. Scott, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133. It was these miserable conditions that Engels described in his *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844,* tr. by Florence K. Wischnewetzky, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1926. This book of Engels was first published in German in 1845 and its English translation first appeared in New York in 1887.. The English edition was reprinted in London in 1892 with a new preface by Engels, again in 1920 and in 1926.

[6] Cf. Commons, "Marxism To-day:Capitalism and Socialism", *The Atlantic Monthly,* November 1925, p. 3.

[7] On his relation to Marxism Engels himself once made the following remarks: "It is incumbent upon me to make a personal explanation at this

disseminate Marx's ideas and to make interpretations of them. He defended and popularized Marxism while Marx was still alive.[8] After Marx's death he edited the posthumous papers of Marx and undertook the leadership of Marxists.[9] Therefore not merely as a co-author, but also as a disseminator of Marxism, Engels contributed to its growth.[10]

Marxism suffered a decline, however, during the period extending roughly from the 1890's to 1914.[11] In Western Europe, particularly in Germany, this period was marked by industrial prosperity, improvements in labor conditions and the participation of labor parties in parliaments; and on account of these even the followers of Marxism gradually deviated from the original tenets of Marxism—they became revisionists.[12]

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place. People have lately referred to my share in this theory, and so I can hardly refrain from saying a few words here in settlement of that particular matter. I cannot deny that I had before and during my forty years' collaboration with Marx a certain independent share not only in laying out the foundations, but more particularly in working out the theory. But the greatest part of the leading essential thinking, particularly in the realm of economics, and especially its final sharp statement, belongs to Marx alone. What I contributed Marx could quite readily have carried out without me with the exception of a pair of special applications. What Marx supplied, I could not have readily brought. Marx stood higher, saw further, took a wider, clearer, quicker survey than all of us. Marx was a genius, we others, at the best, talented. Without him the theory would not be what it is today, by a long way. It therefore rightly bears his name."—Engels, *Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy,* p. 93, n.

[8] Cf. Riazanov, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,* pp. 207-210. For instance, *Anti-Dühring* ("Landmarks of Scientific Socialism") defended Marxism in every respect and the reprint of certain chapters of it (*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*) had a circulation as wide as *the Communist Manifesto.*

[9] Cf. Riazanov, op. cit., pp. 217-219.

[10] Speaking of the eighties, Riazanov remarks: "Owing to Engels' tireless labours and his splendid popularizing gifts, Marxism was steadily gaining ground."—Riazanov, op. cit., p. 211.

[11] Cf. Bukharin, *Lenin as a Marxist,* p. 10, and Eve Dorf, "The Social Democratic Theory", in Scott Nearing and the Labor Research Group, *The Law of Social Revolution,* p. 210.

In this respect Max Beer rightly remarks: "The ten years prior to the war, with their wonderful industrial activity and prosperity of Germany, favoured pure and simple Trade Unionism and social reformism, and prevented all revolutionary discussions."—Max Beer, "The Testament of Engels", *The Labour Monthly,* April-May, 1922, p. 369.

[12] In 1906 the critical thinker Veblen noticed this tendency among German Marxists: "The infection of jingoism has gradually permeated the

While Marxism was declining in Germany, it was beginning to grow in Russia. On account of the tyranny of the Czar Russian revolutionaries were forced to emigrate to Western Europe, where they acquired Marxism as the guide to their revolutionary activities.[13] In 1903 Bolshevism, which we have identified with Marxism, was born, and its most able exponent was the most ardent disciple of Marx, Nikolai Lenin. In the midst of the European War the Bolshevik revolution broke out and succeeded, and the Marxian program has since been put into practice; hence the working classes of other countries have more than ever been aroused to interest in Marxism.

Now in a proletarian State, which was not realized during the life-time of Marx and Engels, there have arisen peculiar situations and practical difficulties, all of which were not well conceived of in original Marxism, but must be met with some

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body of Social Democrats. ... The Spokesmen now are concerned to show that ... they stand for national aggrandisement first and for international comity second. ... The Social Democrats have come to be German patriots first and socialists second. ... *They are now as much, if not more, in touch with the ideas of English liberalism than with those of revolutionary Marxism.*"—Veblen, "The Socialist Economics of Karl Marx and His Followers, I" in *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization and Other Essays,* p. 454; italics ours. Again, "The drift of sentiment, at least among the educated, seems to set toward a position resembling that of the National Socials and the Rev. Mr. Naumann; that is to say, imperialistic liberalism. *Should the conditions ... continue substantially unchanged ... it need surprise no one to find German socialism gradually changing into a somewhat characterless imperialistic democracy.*"—Ibid., p. 455; italics ours.

[13] On this point Lenin writes: "... Bolshevism came into being in 1903 on the very firm foundation of Marxian theory. And the soundness of this revolutionary theory, and of no other, was proved not only by the experience of all countries during the entire nineteenth century, but particularly by the ramblings, vacillations, mistakes and disappointments of revolutionary thought in Russia. For half a century—approximately between the forties and nineties of the preceding century—advanced intellects in Russia, under the yoke of the wildest and most reactionary Czarism, sought eagerly for a correct revolutionary theory, following each and every 'last word' in Europe and America with astounding diligence and thoroughness. Russia has attained Marxism, the only revolutionary theory, by dint of fifty years of travail and sacrifice, through the greatest revolutionary heroism, the most incredible energy and devotion in seeking and educating, through practical experience, disappointment, checking and comparison with European experience. Thanks to the emigration forced by the Czar, revolutionary Russia, in the second half of the nineteenth century, came into possession of rich international connections, and of a

working rules that should still be conformable to its spirit. Hence new principles have been formulated. In this respect Lenin, as pointed out in the preceding chapter, made most of the contributions which have rounded out and strengthened Marxism. Thus original Marxism plus Leninism constitutes modern Marxism, and it is Leninism, in theory and practice, that marks a distinct stage in the growth of Marxism.

2. Effects and Prospects of Marxism

Having considered the genesis and growth of Marxism, we shall proceed to observe its effects and prospects. From the pragmatic point of view, these latter are more important than any other aspect of Marxism, for, after all, it is the effects of a theory, rather than the theory itself, that count in the living world.

The effects of Marxism also fall into two categories: those upon the trend of thought and those upon the trend of events. In regard to the former, at least three points are worth noticing. In the first place, Marx transformed socialism of the Utopian type into a coherent system with a definite purpose and a clear program of action. Speaking of *the Communist Manifesto,* Laski remarks: "It freed socialism from its earlier situation of a doctrine cherished by conspirators in defiance of government and gave to it at once a purpose and an historical background."[14] This is, indeed, true of the whole of Marxism. In the second place, historical materialism was potent in overthrowing the philosophy of naturalism which regarded social institutions as 'natural",[15] and it was responsible for the emphasis of modern historians upon the economic rather than the mere political factor.[16] In the third place, Marxism strengthened the tendency

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grasp of the superlative forms and theories of the revolutionary movement abroad, such as no other country had."—Lenin, *"Left" Communism,* pp. 7-8.

[14] Laski, H. J., *Karl Marx: An Essay,* p. 14.

[15] Cf. Haney, op. cit., p. 453.

[16] Cf. Seligman, *The Economic Interpretation of History,* pp. 163-166. On page 165 Seligman remarks: "It is scarcely open to doubt that through it (historical materialism) in large measure the ideas of historians were directed to some of the momentous factors in human progress which had hitherto escaped their attention." It should be noted here that although

among the economists to take the social point of view and influenced the tone of their writings.[17] To-day Marx is "recognized by economists as one of the three or four greatest minds who have contributed to the progress of economic science."[18]

More important than these are the effects of Marxism upon the trend of events. It is exactly such effects that have been overlooked by most critics. By this oversight and by a mere attack upon the logic of Marxism, nothing is gained. Moreover, in any discussion of Marxism, to ignore its effects upon the trend of events is to shut one's eyes to the world in which we live. Let us, therefore, dwell at some length upon this category of the effects of Marxism.

In this connection, it should be noted that Marx was not only a theoretician but also a practical organizer of the working-class movement.[19] For instance, about 1846 he built up the Workers' Educational Society in Brussels and created the Communist Correspondence Committees in London, Paris and Brussels.[20] In 1847 he organized the Communist League, whose Constitution

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Seligman interprets Marx's philosophy as "the economic interpretation of history" which, as shown before, differs from historical materialism (cf. supra Chapter II, Section 5), the reference here made is related to the general influence of Marx's philosophy, which influence, as indicated by Seligman, remains true, irrespective of his interpretation of historical materialism. So with our following reference to Seligmen's book.

[17] "The economic interpretation of history, in emphasizing the historical basis of economic institutions, has done much for economics."—Ibid., p. 163. "The influence of Socialistic writers upon economic thought has been a very important one. Especially is this true of Marx and Rodbertus . . . " —Haney, op. cit., p. 452.

[18] Commons, "Marxism To-day: Capitalism and Socialism", *The Atlantic Monthly,* November 1925, p. 3. " . . . Perhaps with the exception of Ricardo, there has been no more original, no more powerful, and no more acute intellect in the entire history of economic science."—Seligman, op. cit., p. 56. " . . . he (Marx) must be counted among the greatest economists of all nations."— Max Beer, "The Revival of Anti-Marxism," *The Labour Monthly,* November 1921, p. 426. "In the combination of learning, philosophic acumen, and literary power, he (Marx) is second to no economic thinker of the nineteenth century."—Kirkup, *History of Socialism,* pp. 164-165.

[19] "Marx's organization work has been almost completely overlooked by the investigators; he has been transferred into a cloistered thinker."—Riazanov, op. cit., p. 73.

[20] Cf. ibid., pp. 71 and 72.

embodied the basic idea of Marxism and whose Manifesto was written by Marx and Engels.[21] In 1848-49 Marx and Engels participated in the German labor movement.[22] In 1850 they reorganized the old Communist League in London and endeavored to strengthen the League in Germany.[23] In 1864-72 Marx played the guiding rôle in the International Workingmen's Association, whose Inaugural Address and Constitution were both written by Marx himself.[24] Although he left the public arena after 1873 and Engels took over his work after that, Marx did not entirely keep himself away from work even during the later years of his life. For instance, as late as 1880, three years before his death, he drafted for a new French labor party a socialist program which served as the pattern for all the subsequent programs—the Russian, the Austrian, the German Erfurt.[25]

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[21] In contradiction to the common impression that the Communist League was simply a reorganization of the old League of the Just, Riazanov discovered that it was a new organization, the initiative for which emanated from Marx.—Cf. ibid., Chapter IV, pp. 63-84.

[22] During this period Marx and Engels edited the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and Marx once acted as the Chairman of the Workingmen's Union of Cologne. Cf. ibid., pp. 85-98.

[23] In the second half of 1849, as a result of the complete defeat of the Revolution in Germany, Marx and his followers were forced to live in exile in London. In the face of the unfortunate turn of events, even the Communist League had nothing to do and was therefore officially disbanded in 1852. Cf. ibid., pp. 99-102.

[24] In 1851-1863, as the reaction reached its height, Marx ceased his political activity and devoted his time to literary work. It was during this period that he wrote *the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany,* contributed articles to the Chartist organ, *the People's Paper,* and prepared his first volume of *Das Kapital.* This is why his political activity was discontinued until 1864. —Cf. Riazanov, op. cit., Chapters VI-VIII, pp. 103-198. It should also be noticed that Marx as the General Secretary of the International Workingmen's Association played an indirect part in the Paris Commune, in that the Association helped to "carry on a hopeless yet necessary struggle against the enemies of the Republic and of the laboring class in as good a manner as was possible under the circumstances."—Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Karl Marx, Biographical Memoirs* (written in 1896), pp. 41-42, tr. by E. Untermann, Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1901.

[25] Besides, he composed for the French comrades a questionaire of over one hundred questions as an aid in the investigation of the conditions of the working-class, and answered questions from the Russian comrades.—Cf. Riazanov, op. cit., pp. 205-215.

All these political activities of Marx, in combination with his theory, produced effects upon the trend of events, upon the working-class movements, not only of his time, but also of our present generation; and perhaps will produce effects upon such movements for several generations to come, whether or not we like or dislike these effects. It is sufficient to look at the concrete facts.

In the first place, to-day there exists everywhere a party of the orthodox or left-wing Marxists (which was formerly under different names in different countries such as the Bolshevik group in Russia, the Spartacist group in Germany and the Workers' Party in America), bearing the common name Communist, as well as a party of the right-wing Marxists, or revisionists, such as the Social Democratic Party in Germany, the Socialist Party in the United States, *etc.* Despite the departures of the right-wing Marxism (revisionism) from original Marxism, which have been shown in the first chapter, revisionism is nevertheless the "foster-son" of Marxism, while modern communism, or Bolshevism, is the real child of Marxism. Side by side with the revisionist and communist parties, there are the Second and Third Internationals whose predecessor is the First International, the centre of Marx's interest.

In the second place, a State of proletarian dictatorship, so much expected by Marx and Engels, has passed its thirteen years of age before our eyes. It is in this State, Soviet Russia, that the experiment on Marxism, as already pointed out, has been tried to the largest possible extent.

In the third place, in the Far East, where probably the name of Marx had never been heard of during his life time, the Chinese communists through the influence of their Russian comrades played an important rôle in the recent Chinese Nationalist Revolution, and, although now somewhat crushed by the Nationalists, are still exerting their influence independently.

In the fourth place, as the Third International unceasingly carries on its propaganda of world revolution and world dictatorship,[26] and as the Communist Party is in existence in almost

[26] Cf. *The Programme of the Communist International*, pp. 37-50.

every country, the communist revolutions (in the popular sense that revolutions are led by the communists), or uprisings, have broken out during the last decade or so, and might break out again, here and there, as in Germany, Hungary, Austria, China, *etc.*, irrespective of the fact that they have failed or may fail again.

Such are the effects of Marxism upon the trend of events. It is self-evident that these effects are significant. Of equal significance are the prospects of Marxism, which may be indicated as follows:

On the one hand, there is the sober fact that evils exist in the present organization of society and create dissatisfactions among those who suffer from them. On the other hand, Marxism is a doctrine which "appeals to the deepest passions of men."[27] Hence it becomes the creed of the victims of the present system of social organization. Laski, one of the best critics of Marxism, clearly sees this when he says:

> "It (Marxism) is the inevitable creed of men who suffer from economic oppression. It draws its nourishment from every refusal to act with justice and generosity. It is fed by the conflicts which, at every margin of civilization, haunt our lives with the instinct of coming disaster. National hatred, economic war, racial antagonism, religious conflict, to all who suffer the results of these, the message of Communism is real and telling."[28]

Such being the case, Marxism will continue to play its part in future social movements, unless and until there is the proof, "not merely that social reform is practicable, but that its results can be as profound as the promise of those who belittle its prospects."[29] Yet in every community, groups of powerful men make it a matter of principle to refuse great changes, thus increasing the effectiveness of Marx's message.[30] Indeed, to respond to the plain needs and wants of the people with nothing

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[27] Cf. Laski, "The Value and Defects of the Marxist Philosophy", *Current History*, October, 1928, p. 23.

[28] Ibid., p. 29.

[29] Ibid., p. 29.

[30] Cf. Laski, *Communism*, pp. 240-242.

but repressive measures will be to furnish the locomotive of the proletarian revolution.

Moreover, to-day the Marxists are better organized, better disciplined, and their program of action is more elaborated, more systematized, than ever before. In addition, "They have the spirit of the early Jesuits, the temper of Cromwell's Ironsides"; consequently, they will not be disheartened either by failures or by measures of repression.[31] Thus we are compelled to believe that, for better or for worse, the possibilities for the revolutionary program of Marx are still open; and that these possibilities will be realized sooner in those countries which are more unstable politically and economicallyy, more conservative, more reactionary, than in those countries which are the opposite, and also sooner in colonies and semi-colonies which are under the yoke of imperialism.

In short, "as regards Marx one is not likely to find in the history of the nineteenth century a man who, by his activity and his scientific achievements, had as much to do as he, with determining the thought and actions of a succession of generations in a great number of countries. Marx has been dead more than forty years. Yet he is still alive."[32]

3. Theoretical Considerations

Now let us turn to a consideration of Marxism from the purely theoretical point of view. Hitherto most critics have centered their interest upon its minor issues, instead of considering the major features of the system as a whole.[33] Speaking of Marxian economics, Veblen justly remarks: "A discussion of a given isolated feature of the system (such as the theory of value) from the point of view of classical economics (such as that offered

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[31] Cf. Laski, "The Value and Defects of the Marxist Philosophy", Current History, October 1928, p. 29.

[32] Riazanov, op. cit., p. 13.

[33] " . . . attention has been concentrated less upon what is true and vital in his (Marx's) theories than upon minor issues which do not alter the ultimate bearing of his message."—Laski, "The Value and Defects of the Marxist Philosophy", *Current History*, October 1928, p. 23.

by Böhm-Bawerk) is as futile as a liscussion of solids in terms of two dimensions."[34] In the Marxian theory of the State a superficial critic might take as contradictions the substitution of one class State ((the proletarian) for another (the bourgeois), the implication of proletarian democracy in proletarian dictatorship, and the outbreak of the proletarian revolution in comparatively backward Russia rather than in a highly capitalistic country. He might also condemn the guiding rôle of the Communist Party in proletarian dictatorship as party dictatorship, the introduction of State Capitalism into Soviet Russia as a surrender to capitalism, *etc.* But all these criticisms simply indicate the lack of a thorough understanding of the theory which, as presented in the preceding chapters, is well guarded against such attacks. Thus we may dismiss them altogether, and consider the major issues.

The class-domination theory of the State does not seem plausible to the adherents of the orthodox theory, namely, the theory that the State is, in the words of Woodrow Wilson, "a beneficent and indispensable organ of society" for "the faciliation of the objects of society."[35] But as a matter of fact, the class struggle, which lies at the basis of the Marxian theory, is, as pointed out by Marx himself, a historical fact long recognized by historians and economists.[36] Nor is it totally denied by the critical thinkers of modern times.[37] Eminent writers like Gumplowicz, Loria and

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[34] Veblen, "The Socialist Economics of Karl Marx and His Followers I", in *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization and Other Essays,* p. 410.

[35] Cf. Woodrow Wilson, *The State,* pp. 631-639, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1899.

[36] Cf. supra pp. 90-91.

[37] "Nor can it be denied that there is a real division of interest in any community between the owners of the means of production and those who have nothing to sell but their labor."—Laski, "The Value and Defects of the Marxist Philosophy", *Current History,* October 1928, p. 26. Von Wieser admits that modern class struggle is created by capitalism itself and that it is going on in all "cultural" states.—Cf. his *Das Gesetz der Macht,* pp. 258-259. Commons also concedes that the class struggle might be true in Europe and that there is a three-cornered class conflict in America.—Cf. his "Marxism Today: Capitalism and Socialism", *The Atlantic Monthly,* November 1925, p. 14. C. H. Cooley even conceives class struggle as a necessary part of life, as a good thing if conducted in

Oppenheimer have virtually adopted the class-domination conception of the State without acknowledging their indebtedness to Marx and, as a matter of course, without accepting Marx's conclusions (the over-throw of the bourgeoise State by revolution and the subsequent steps).[38] Since the writers just mentioned form one of the few groups of non-socialist writers who have accepted the class-domination conception of the State, it may be interesting to compare their theory with that of Marx.

The theory of this group is well summed up by H. E. Barnes as follows:

"According to this school of thinkers, who are by no means orthodox socialists, the economic exploitation of the majority through the possession of political sovereignty by the minority has been the essence of the political process and the real achievement of the state since the primitive times. The state, in other words, is legalized oppression."[39]

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an "orderly" way, although by class struggle he does not mean the same thing as understood by Marxists.—Cf. his *Social Organization,* Chapters XVIII-XXII, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1909; and his *Social Process,* Chapters IV, XII, XIII, XXII and XXIV (the same publisher), 1918.

[38] "A state is the organized control of the minority over the majority."—Ludwig Gumplowicz, *Outlines of Sociology,* p. 118, tr. by F. W. Moore, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, 1909. Law and politics are some of the "connective institutions, whose special function it is to guarantee property against all reaction on the part of those excluded from the possession of the soil" and the State exists as "the necessity of holding the non-owning classes in obedience and preventing violent actions".—Achille Loria, *Economic Foundations of Society,* pp. 9, 125-126, tr. by S. M. Keasbey, London, 1899. "The State may be defined as an organization of *one class* dominating over the other classes."—Franz Oppenheimer, *The State,* Preface, p. iv; italics his. Again, he says: "I mean by it (the State) that summation of privileges and dominating positions which are brought into being by extra economic power."—Ibid., p. xiv.

It is no wonder that Gunplowicz and Oppenheimer have not acknowledged their indebtedness to Marx since they follow no other aspects of Marxism than the conception of the State. But Loria's whole book is written largely from the standpoint of historical materialism. Yet he has forgotten Marx when he says: "The book revealed the secret to the world; it boldly declared what no one had had the courage to say; that cupidity, narrow mean egoism and class spirit ruled in our so-called democracies..."—Loria, op. cit., Preface to the revised edition, p. xi.

[39] H. E. Barnes," Some Contributions of Socioligy to Modern Political Theory", in C. E. Merriam and others, *A History of Political Theory, Recent Times,* p. 363.

If we compare this with what has been presented in the first two sections of Chapter III, there is hardly any difference to be found. Of course, the conclusions of Gumplowicz, Loria and Oppenheimer are as far apart from those of Marx as heaven from earth. As pointed out by Oppenheimer, Gumplowicz is pessimistic; and according to him the State, although inseparable from class exploitation, is "immanent" and unavoidable.[40] To Loria, who is optimistic, the capitalist State, the organ of class exploitation, is bound to perish, bound to be transformed into "a voluntary system of co-operation", but "spontaneously" with no need of the revolutionary method.[41] To Oppenheimer, who is also optimistic but less radical than Loria, the class State which has hitherto existed is developing, by evolutionary steps, in a new direction, toward a "Freemen's Citizenship", and there is already open the path "from the exploiting State of robbery to the Freemen's Citizenship."[42] But Marx, who is neither so pessimistic as Gumplowicz nor so optimistic as Loria and Oppenheimer, is not as passive as all three of them are. According to Marx, in order to change the existing order of things, something must be done; hence a three-step program, as we have seen, is worked out.[43] A verdict as to whose conclusions are right or wrong is of little significance, for such a verdict is merely a matter of opinion. From the standpoint of logic, Marx is perhaps more consistent than the other three authors since they all agree in their conception of the State.

What is vital in the class-domination theory of the State, as

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[40] Cf. Oppenheimer, op. cit., pp. 277-278

[41] "The day is, therefore, bound to come, when production can no longer proceed under the capitalistic *regime*. . . . A voluntary system of co-operation will then establish itself spontaneously upon the basis of free ownership of the soil."—Loria, op. cit., p. 7. Again, "Bourgeois hands are no longer able to wield political power, and it must therefore he committed to the younger and more vigorous representatives now called upon to lead the human race to a higher destiny."—Ibid., p. 326.

[42] Cf. Oppenheimer, op. cit., pp. 279-290. Oppenheimer even goes so far as to say that the "Freemen's Citizenship" is already found in the United States, in Australia and in New Zealand, and that any of these countries is "no longer the 'State' in its older sense."—Ibid., pp. 17-19.

[43] Cf. supra p. 61.

first formulated by Marx and Engels[44] and followed by Gumplowicz, Loria and Oppenheimer, irrespective of their different conclusions, is this: A State dominated by capitalists and organized for the property of the capitalists has become intolerable, and a better social order should be sought in which there is to be established economic equality, economic democracy, thus making political equality, political democracy, a reality rather than a name on paper.[45] As this is recognized "by every thinker who has at all carefully scrutinized the nature of social organization,"[46] there is no reason to doubt its truth.

The main point in which Marx differs from other thinkers is the method. While they want to try out the peaceful method,[47]

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[44] Here we do not mean that the class-domination theory of the State entirely originated with Marx and Engels. The idea that political authority follows the distribution of wealth and is thus always in the hands of property owners can be traced back to James Harrington (1611-1677).—Cf. his *Commonwealth of Oceana* (1686), Morley's edition, London, 1887. Again, James Madison also developed the idea that the source of factions is the unequal distribution of property and that the antagonistic interests of owners and non-owners are always involved in the ordinary operation of government.—Cf. Madison, "The Utility of the Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection" (1787), in Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison, *The Federalist*, No. X, pp. 106-107, edited by J. C. Hamilton, J. B. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia, 1864. Nevertheless, it was Marx and Engels who first made a systematic formulation of the theory.

[45] Cf. Laski, *Karl Marx: An Essay*, p. 45. Laski has repeatedly admitted this truth. For instance, he says in another place: "That political power is the handmaid of economic power has been insisted by every thinker who has at all carefully scrutinized the nature of social organization. That a mere ballot-box democracy is, as a consequence, utterly unreal in the presence of large inequalities of property will be evident to any one who considers the history of any modern State like England or France or Germany. ... The student of the decisions of the Supreme Court will find it impossible to explain them at least in general principle except upon the assumption that they are weighted in the interests of the owners of capital; the history of the Fourteenth Amendment, for example, is a striking example of this truth." —"The Value and Defects of the Marxist Philosophy", *Current History*, October 1828, pp. 25-26. Again, "In sober fact, government is exerted in the interests of those who control its exercise. That is, indeed, progressively less true. ... The conclusion surely is forced upon us that the state permits a sinister manipulation of its power."—*Authority in the Modern State*, p. 40.

[46] Cf. above note 45.

[47] For instance, Laski's chief objection to Marxism lies in the method (cf. *Karl Marx: An Essay*, pp. 40-44; "the Value and Defects of the Marxist

Marx and the Marxists insist upon the revolutionary method. Even this Marxian idea, which has been most attacked, is not without foundation. Laski points out:

"Even his (Marx's) advocacy of catastrophic revolution has this much of truth in it, that a point is reached in the development of any social system where men will refuse to accept any longer a burden they find too great to bear and, in that moment, if they cannot mitigate, they will become determined to destroy."[48]

The Marxian idea of proletarian dictatorship follows from the revolutionary method. Once the method is granted, the period of consolidation ensues from the successful revolution. Hence the proletariat State must be a State of iron dictatorship by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Again, in the words of Laski:

"Revolution provokes counter-revolution and a victorious proletariat must be on its guard against reaction. Revolution, in fact, demands of the revolutionary class that it secure its purpose by every method at its disposal."[49]

As to the constructive phase of proletarian dictatorship, the establishment of socialism, the critical judgment should be based upon concrete results rather than upon abstract reasoning. Soviet Russia is a case in point. If this socialist State should catch up with the United States of America in its economic development during the next thirty or fifty years, the soundness of the Marxian socialist system would be established. On the contrary, its failure to do so would prove the unsoundness of Marxian socialism. To draw any definite conclusion now is premature.

The Marxian idea of the withering-away of the proletarian State, if taken to mean its complete withering away and the

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Philosophy", *Current History,* Oct., 1928, p. 27; and *Communism,* p. 244). His solution is the offer of large concessions by capitalists (cf. *Karl Marx: An Essay,* pp. 38-39, and *Communism,* p. 240). Obviously he stands for the peaceful method. So with all revisionists, reformists and liberals.

[48] Laski, *Karl Marx: An Essay,* p. 45. As has been noted, even Von Wieser emphasizes the rôle of *Gewalt* (force) in history (cf. supra p. 72, n. 43). Only according to his law of *Macht, Gewalt* tends to diminish, while peaceful *Macht* tends to increase (cf. his *Das Gesetz der Macht,* pp. 534-546).

[49] Laski, *Karl Marx: An Essay,* p. 36.

advent of the stateless-communist society, may seem Utopian. But as Marx himself never emphasized it and as Lenin cautiously termed it an "anticipation", it is of little interest to take it seriously. If it is taken to mean only what is supposed to be involved in the beginning of the withering-away process, namely, a shift of State functions from the political to the economic, it is quite plausible. For the State function has been hitherto mainly political, protection of order and property against outside and inside enemies. In the proletarian State the political function will be reduced to a minimum since the order will be less disturbed on account of the non-existence of private property. Even foreign enemies would be eliminated, should all other countries be transformed into proletarian States. The economic function surely will be increased in the beginning. But as it is the political function that constitutes the essence of the State, its reduction modifies the very nature of the State. It is undeniably true that the State withers away in this sense. This was what Engels meant when he suggested that the government of persons would be replaced by the administration of things.[50]

As a matter of fact, any thinker who is not satisfied with the present social arrangements has in some sense a theory of the withering-away of the State. For what he wants to do is to modify the organization, and thereby the functions, of the State. As we have seen, Oppenheimer has his new State, called "Freemen's Citizenship", and revisionists have theirs under such names as "Industrial State," "Free State" and what not.[51] Laski endeavors to recommend an organization of the State based upon group sovereignties, and G. D. H. Cole attempts to introduce a "Guild Congress" as a branch of the parliament.[52] All these suggestions are nothing more than a modification of the nature of the State. In other words, they are intended to make the State wither away. The essential difference between Marx and

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[50] Cf. supra p. 127.

[51] Cf. supra, p. 19.

[52] Cf. Laski, *Authority in the Modern State* and *Grammar of Politics;* and Cole, *Self Government in Industry* (London, 1920).

these other thinkers is simply this. With Marx, the modification of the nature of the State can be accomplished only in the proletarian State, only after the overthrow of the bourgeois State; while with these other thinkers the present bourgeois State may be expected to be modified, it may be expected to wither away. Again, this is a difference which arises from the difference in method. The Marxian idea is the logical conclusion from the revolutionary method and the non-Marxian, the reformist, idea, is the logical conclusion from the peaceful method.

Now let us summarily state what we think are the chief merits of Marxism. First, Marxism brings to the forefront the question of the inadequacy of the present social organization; it is an "admirable diagnosis" of capitalism.[53] Secondly, it is, as already noted in the preceding section, a coherent socialist system with a definite purpose and a clear program of action. As it has been extended by Lenin, it covers even the peculiar situation not previously considered, without violating its tenets. Thirdly, it treats socialism as an historical product and discloses to the proletariat its historical mission, thus divorcing itself from all subjective, abstract notions such as natural rights, equality, justice, *etc.*[54] Fourthly, it is exclusively proletarian socialism. It aims at nothing but the welfare of the proletariat.[55] Fifthly, it lays special stress upon the importance of production. The socialists

[53] H. G. Wells once remarks that Marx "diagnoses a disease admirably".—Quoted in Laski, *Karl Marx: An Essay,* p. 45. On the same page Laski points out that Marx "put in the forefront of social discussion the ultimate question of the condition of the people", and he says further: "No one can read unmoved the picture he (Marx) drew of the results of the Industrial Revolution. Massive in its outline, convincing in its detail, it was an indictment such as neither Carlyle nor Ruskin had power or strength to draw."

[54] Cf. supra, pp. 84-85, and Laski, *Karl Marx: An Essay,* p. 15. "...it (the Marxian school) has eschewed every consideration of justice and fraternity, which always played such an important *role* in French socialism. It is interested not in the ideal, but in the actual, not in what ought to be, but in what is likely to be."—Gide and Rist, op. cit., p. 468. Notice the following statement of Marx and Engels: "The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes."—*The Communist Manifesto,* p. 31.

[55] Cf. Gide and Rist, op. cit., p. 470.

had hitherto centered their attention upon the question of just distribution. But to Marx, the distribution of the means of consumption depends upon the distribution of the means of production, which in turn depends upon the mode of production.[56]

Such are the chief merits of Marxism. But our view thus far presented is not meant to suggest that there are no difficulties at all with Marxism. No system of thought hitherto developed in this department of human knowledge, whatever merits it may have, is without difficulties, because of the very fact that no thinker or group of thinkers can visualize the complicated social relations with the largest degree of exactness and predict what will take place with the largest degree of certainty. Whatever laws a genius can formulate are only partially true, and even these partially true laws, qualified as tendencies, may be counteracted by many other factors.[57] Therefore it is natural that there are certain difficulties with Marxism. These difficulties may be stated as follows:

First, the concept of productive forces, or the mode of production, which are supposed to be the prime movers of history, is not clearly defined; hence there have arisen various interpretations[58] and criticisms.[59] Secondly, the problem of cost involved

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[56] "The distribution of the means of consumption is but the result of the distribution of the factors of production. But the distribution of the latter is characteristic of the very mode of production. ... Given the common ownership of the material factors of production, there follows in the same way a distribution of the means of consumption different from the present. Utopian Socialism (and from it, again, a section of the Democracy) followed the capitalist economists in regarding and treating distribution as independent of production, and hence represented Socialism as turning chiefly around the question of distribution."—Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program*, p. 32.

[57] Laski rightly remarks: "Any solution that is offered to our problems is bound, at its best and highest, to be but partial and imperfect; no single method of social arrangement will meet the diverse needs we encounter."—*Communism*, p. 244.

[58] Cf. Bober, *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History*, Chapters I and II, and Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 536-537.

[59] It is the lack of a clear definition of the term "productive forces" that gives rise to Common's criticism of Marx's philosophy as "the idea of an impelling force that worked out its evolution regardless of the will of man" (cf. his "Marxism To-day: Capitalism and Socialism", *The Atlantic*

in the revolutionary method is given little attention[60] and the application of this method in such a country as the United States of America where even the proletariat, to use the Marxian phrase, "bribed" by high wages or "cheated" by stock sharing or other policies, is deeply "infected" with bourgeois ideas, will not be successful unless the "infected" proletariat is converted through years of propaganda or through a series of serious crises which cause dissatisfaction.[61] Thirdly, the problem of conflicts of interests, other than economic, escapes notice through over-concentration upon the economic conflict. Fourthly, the ultimate problem of scarcity of resources is over-shadowed by the zeal for abolishing the inadequate system of the present day.[62]

In spite of these difficulties, Marxism will remain one of the most important systems ever offered. From the standpoint of its effects, it is second to none.[63] Unless the present social order can be made better in some other way,[64] Marxism will continue

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Monthly, November 1925, p. 11), and to Sorokin's criticism of it as "incongruous reconciliation of fatalism with free will' (cf. Sorokin, op. cit., pp. 540-541).

[60] It is mainly this cost problem that leads to Laski's and Russell's rejection of Marxism.—Cf. Laski, *Karl Marx: An Essay,* pp. 41-42, "The Value and Defects of the Marxist Philosophy", *Current History,* October 1928, p. 27, and *Communism,* p. 244; and Bertrand Russell, *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism,* pp. 149-152 (London, 1920).

[61] Engels knows that there is some difficulty in America from the standpoint of the proletarian revolution, when he says: "A durable reign of the bourgeoisie has been possible only in countries like America, where feudalism was unknown, and society at the very beginning started from a bourgeois basis."—*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* p. 38. Yet he believes that even here the proletarian revolution is not far from the present day, for he immediately continues: "And even in France and America, the successors of the bouregoisie, the working people, are already knocking at the door."

[62] For the problem of scarcity, see Commons, "Marxism To-day, Capitalism and Socialism," *The Atlantic Monthly,* November 1925, p. 13.

[63] "No name in the history of social ideas occupies a place more remarkable than that of Karl Marx. ... His books have received from a chosen band a scrutiny as earnest as ever the Bible or the Digest have obtained."—Laski, *Karl Marx: An Essay,* p. 3. Again, "In every country of the world where men have set themselves to the task of social improvements, Marx has always been the source of inspiration and prophecy."—Ibid., p. 45.

[64] As it is not infrequently believed that on account of the progress already made there is no need of any radical change in the present social order, we reproduce here the following statement of Laski: "If there has been

to hold its place in social movements. Herein lies its prospects. It is upon the actual communist movement, rather than upon its acceptance by the academic world, that its significance rests. Therefore we disagree with Sorokin when he says: "Only a metaphysician could now be busy with the Marx-Engels conceptions."[65] But it is exactly these conceptions that have been crystalized into the present communist movement. As a reply to Sorokin and as a conclusion of our inquiry, the following words of social wisdom are borrowed: "Keep your eye on the new movements and organizations, and always estimate them in accordance less with what they actually are than with what they seem capable of becoming."[66]

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an improvement in the general standard of civilization, an increasing unwillingness, for example, to inflict unnecessary pain, there are no signs of the mitigation of the class-conflict. On the countrary, the events of the last decade point directly to its exacerbation; and we have obviously entered upon a period in which the rights of property are challenged at their foundation."—Ibid., pp. 38-39.

[65] Sorokin, op. cit., p. 546.

[66] G. D. H. Cole, *Social Theory*, p. 206, F. A. Stokes Co., New York, 1920.

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[1] This bibliography is not intended to be a comprehensive one. It is simply a summary list of all those books which have been mentioned in this work. So in this list of books, we only point out the exact volume which has been referred to, when the book consists of a number of volumes. For instance, although there are three volumes of Marx's *Capital,* we list here only Vol. I and Vol. III because Vol. II has not been referred to in the preceding pages. When both the original and the translation have been quoted, we list both. Otherwise, only the one which has been cited is given in this bibliography.

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APPENDIX I

GERMAN SOCIALISTS FALSIFY ENGELS[1]

By A. Trachtenberg

Among the manuscripts secured by Riazanov there was the original Engels' Introduction to Marx' *Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850.* By a careful comparison of the manuscript with the published text Riazanov discovered certain excisions intentionally made by Bernstein before it was published. It was this garbled introduction that Bernstein utilized in giving the world the impression that Engels had forsaken the path of revolutionary action, and had joined the reformist and pacifist camp. In the introduction to his *Evolutionary Socialism* Bernstein writes as follows: "In 1895 Friedrich Engels stated in detail in the preface to *War of the Classes* (Class Struggles) that the time of political surprises, of the 'revolution of small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses' was today at an end, that a collision on a large scale with the military would be the means of checking the steady growth of Social-Democracy and of even throwing it back for a time—in short, that Social-Democracy would flourish far better by lawful than by unlawful means and by violent revolution. And he points out in conformity with this opinion that the next task of the party should be 'to work for an uninterrupted increase of its votes' or to carry on a slow *propaganda of parliamentary activity.*" (Bernstein's emphasis).

Riazanov recalls how Kautsky was then furious about this and publicly questioned the veracity of the views ascribed to Engels. Kautsky demanded in the *Neue Zeit* that Bernstein publish the original manuscript of the Introduction, which Bernstein never did. (This was at the time when Kautsky was fighting Bernstein's revisionism). Riazanov also quotes letters of Engels to Lafargue and to Kautsky protesting against the interpretation of certain passages in the Introduction which was written during

[1] As indicated before (cf. supra Ch. I, n. 51), this is a section of Trachtenberg's article called "The Marx-Engels Institute", published in *the Workers Monthly,* Vol. V, no. 1, November 1925. This section is reproduced here with the permission of its author.

the time when the exception laws against the Socialists were being considered in Germany. Engels was particularly furious at Liebktnecht, who was then editor of the *Vorwaerts,* for printing garbled excerpts of his Introduction, making him appear a "pacifist supporter of legality."

After giving this historical polemic of 1895, the year of Engels' death, Riazanov tells how he found the original manuscript of the Introduction in the archives of the German Social-Democratic Party. The result of his close scrutiny and verbatim comparison between the manuscript and the published Introduction of the German edition revealed the following surgical operations performed on a very important introduction by Engels to a very important monograph by Marx. In order to show exactly how the literary executors intentionally falsified and adulterated this Introduction I shall quote from the latest German edition of the book *Die Klassenkaempfe in Frankreich 1848-1850,* published by Buchhandlung Vorwaerts, Berlin, 1920) printing in bold type the portions which were omitted. In the parallel column appears the translation of this portion, quoted from the English translation published in this country by the Socialist Labor Party in 1924 with a translation of the omitted parts printed in bold type.[2]

CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

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"Therefore, even during the classic period of street battles, the barricade had a moral rather than a material effect. It was a means to shake the solidity of the military. If it held until that had been accomplished, the victory was won; if not, it meant defeat. **This is the point of view to be borne in mind, even . . . in an investigation of the prospects of the future street-battles."**

Page 23

"And finally, the newly built quarters of the large cities, erected since 1848, have been laid out, in long, straight and wide streets as though made to order for the effective use of the new cannon and rifles. The revolutionary, who would himself select the new working class districts in the north and east of Berlin for a barricade battle would have to be a lunatic. **Does this mean that the**

[2] For convenience, these German and English portions are reproduced here not in parallel columns, but the English portion precedes the German.

street-battles will play no part in the future? Not at all. It simply means that conditions have become far more unfavorable for the civilian fighters since 1848, and far more favorable for the military forces. Street battles in the future may be successful only if this unfavorable situation can be neutralized by other factors. Such fights will therefore be far less usual in the earlier stages of a great revolution, than in its later course, and will have to be fought with greater resources of strength. Such battles will rather resort—as in the great French Revolution, and as on September 4th and October 31st, 1870, in Paris—to open attack than to the defensive tactics of the barricades.

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"In the Latin countries, too, it is being realized that the old tactics must be revised. **Mere unprepared random fighting has everywhere been relegated to the background.** Everywhere, the German example of the utilization of the franchise and of the conquest of all possible positions has been imitated.

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"To keep going this growth (reference is here made to the increasing parliamentary influence of the German Socialists—A. T.) without interruption until it swamps the ruling governmental system, **not to use up this daily increasing accumulation of force, but to preserve it intact for the decisive day,** that is our main task."

Page 27

"To shoot out of existence a party numbering millions, that is not possible with all the magazine rifles in Europe and America. But normal development would be hindered, **the accumulated forces would perhaps not be available at the critical** ('decisive' stricken out by Engels) **moment, the decisive struggle** ((English translation gives **decision**) delayed, prolonged and coupled with heavy sacrifices."

Page 28

"But do not forget that the German Reich (Engels addresses here the Prussian reactionaries—A. T.), like all small states, and indeed like all modern states, is the product of a covenant; first of a covenant among the rulers themselves, and second of a covenant of the ruler with the people. If one party breaks the agreement, the whole of it falls, the other party being no longer bound by it. **As Bismarck has so neatly shown the way** (in 1866). **If you violate the Constitution of the Empire, the Social-Democracy will be free to act or not act with regard to you as it may choose. But what it will do—there is hardly any fear of its telling you about that now."**

DIE KLASSENKAEMPFE IN FRANKREICH

Page 18

"Selbst in der klassischen Zeit der Strassenkämpfe wirkte also die Barrikade mehr moralisch als materiell. Sie war ein

Mittel, die Festigkeit des Militärs zu erschüttern. Hielt sie vor, bis dies gelang, so war der Sieg erreicht; wo nicht, war man geschlagen. **Es ist dieses der Hauptpunkt der im Auge zu halten ist, auch wenn man die Chancen . . . künftiger Strassenkämpfe untersucht.**

Page 19

"Und endlich sind die seit 1848 neu gebauten Viertel der grossen Städte in langen, geraden, breiten Strassen angelegt, wie gemacht für die Wirkung der neuen Geschütze und Gewhre. Der Revolutionär müsste verrückt sein, der sich die neuen Arbeiterdistrikte in Norden und Osten von Berlin zu einem Barrikadenkampf selbst aussuchte. **Heisst das, dass in Zukunft der Strassenkampf keine Rolle mehr spielen wird? Durchaus nicht. Es heisst nur, das die Bedingungen seit 1848 weit ungünstiger für die Civilkämpfer, weit günstiger für das Militär geworden sind. Ein künftiger Strassenkampf kann also nur siegen, wenn diese Ungunst der Lage durch andre Momente aufgewogen wird. Er wird daher seltener im Anfang einer grossen Revolution vorkommen, als im weiteren Verlauf einer solchen, und wird mit grösseren kräften unternommen werden müssen. Diese aber werden dann wohl wie in der ganzen französischen Revolution, am 4. September und 31. Oktober 1870 in Paris, den offenen Angriff der passiven Barrikadentaktik vorziehen."**

Page 20

"Auch in den romanischen Ländern sicht man mehr und mehr ein, dass die alte Taktik revidiert werden muss. **Ueberall ist das unvorbereitete Losschlagen in den Hintergrund getreten,** überall hat man das deutsche Beispiel der Benutzung des Wahlrechts, der Eroberung aller uns zugänglichen Posten, nachgeahmt."

Page 21

"Dies Wachstum ununterbrochen in Gang zu halten, bis es dem herrschenden Regierungssystem von selbest über den Kopt wäscht, **diesen sich täglich verstärkenden Gewalthaufen nicht in Vorhutkämpfen aufreiben, sondern ihn intakt zu erhalten, bis zum Tage der Entscheidung, das ist unsere Hauptaufgabe."**

Page 21

"Eine Partei, die nach Millionen zählt, aus der Welt schiessen, dazu reichen alle Magazingewehre von Europa und Amerika nicht hin. Aber die normale Entwickelung wäre gehemmt, **der Gewalthaufe wäre vielleicht im kritischen ("entscheidenden" durchgestrichen) Moment nicht verfügbar, der Entscheidungskampf** (printed German text gives **Entscheidung**) würde verspätet, verlängert, und mit schweren Opfern verknüpft."

Page 22

"Vergessen Sie aber nicht, dass das Deutsche Reich, wie alle Kleinstaaten und überhaupt alle modernen Staaten, ein Produkt des Vertrages ist; des Vertrages erstens der Fürsten untereinander, zweitens der Fürsten mit dem Volk. Bricht der eine Teil

den Vertrag, der andere Teil ist dann auch nicht mehr gebunden. **Wie uns das Bismarck 1866 so schön vorgemacht hat. Brechen Sie also die Reichsverfassung, so ist die Sozialdemokratie frei, kann Ihnen gegenüber thun und lassen was sie will. Was sie aber dann thun wird—das bindet sie Ihnen heute schwerlich auf die Nase."**

The above quoted excisions show that the leaders of the German Social-Democracy have not only betrayed a personal trust which Engels, before his death, bestowed upon them, but have also conspired to adulterate and falsity his views on a very important and vital tactical question. Comrade Riazanov and the Russian Communist Party under whose direction he worked, deserve the gratitude of the entire revolutionary movement for having "excavated" from the archives of the German Social-Democracy that part of the Introduction which the literary executors of Engels have so traitorously and flagrantly suppressed, and which he is now able to restore to us. Under the able and devoted leadership of Riazanov the Institute is continuing these researches and we may expect more important contributions of Marx and Engels which the German Socialists concealed either in part or in their entirety.

This tremendous undertaking of the Institute to reconstruct Marx and Engels in their full scientific greatness and revolutionary glory is bound to redound to the benefit of the revolutionary labor movement. The Communist parties of the various countries which will spread the works of the Institute among the masses will find thousands of workers who still follow Socialist leadership coming over to them when they learn of the dastardly betrayal of the memory and principles of Marx and Engels by that leadership.

APPENDIX II

ENGELS EINLEITUNG ZU MARX' „DIE KLASSENKÄMPFE IN FRANKREICH 1848—1850"*

D. Rjasanow (Riazanov)

[Note: On Jan. 22, 1931, when this volume was almost off the press, the author received from Mr. D. Riazanov, Director of the Marx-Engels Institute, Moscow, U.S.S.R., a reply to his inquiry with its enclosure of a photocopy of Riazanov's own article on "Engels' Einleitung zu Marx' 'Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848-1850' ". As this article is the most important document that contradicts the generally misrepresented view of Engels, it is reprinted here in the original. Thus, in addition to Trachtenburg's article, which serves as a good introduction to the story of German socialists' falsification of Engels, we now have here an authentic statement of the story by its discoverer himself. This statement first appeared in the first volume of the magazine "Unter dem Banner des Marxismus" (published by the Marx-Engels Institute), a publication which is not available in most American libraries. Therefore the present author feels deeply grateful to Mr. Riazanov for his kindness in giving him a copy of his valuable article.]

Es ist bekannt, welch heisse Diskussion in Verbindung mit der berühmten Einleitung Engels' zu Marx' „Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848—1850" entstanden war. In seinen „Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus" machte E. Bernstein den Versuch, diese Einleitung zu einem politischen Vermächtnis Engels' zu stempeln, durch das einer der Begründer der „revolutionärsten Lehre, die das XIX. Jahrhundert gesehen", sich von seiner revolutionären Vergangen-

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* Die Bekanntgabe der ursprünglichen vollständigen Einleitung Engels' gewinnt eine um so grössere Bedeutung, da dank der perfiden Taktik der sozialdemokratischen Parteiinstanzen, selbst unter einigen Kommunisten die Vorstellung entstanden war, als handle es sich in Engels' Einleitung um einen, wenn auch taktischen Rückzug des revolutionären Marzismus.

Wir erinnern bei dieser Gelegenheit daran, dass selbst Rosa Luxemburg in ihrer auf dem Gründungsparteitag der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands am 31. Dezember 1918 gehaltenen Programmrede einer solchen Auffassung Ausdruck verlieh. Sie führte, auf Engels' berühmte Vorrede eingehend, u. a. aus: „Ich will damit nicht sagen, dass Engels sich persönlich durch diese Ausführungen zum Mitschuldigen an dem ganzen Gange der Entwicklung in Deutschland gemacht hat; ich sage nur: Hier ist ein klassisch zusammengefasstes Dokument für die Auffassung, die in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie lebendig war, oder vielmehr: die sie tot machte." Zur Entlastung Engels' führt Rosa Luxemburg folgendes Moment an: „Zu Ehren unserer beiden grossen Meister und namentlich des viel später verstorbenen Engels', der die Ehre und die Ansichten von Marx mit vertrat, muss festgestellt werden, dass Engels diese Vorrede bekanntermassen unter dem direkten Druck der damaligen Reichstagsfraktion geschrieben hat" (vergl. Bericht über den Gründungsparteitag der KPD). Wenn Rosa Luxemburg im

heit lossage und seinen Schülern vermache, mit allen Mitteln dem von ihm und Marx begangenen Fehler aus dem Wege zu gehen.

Gegen diese Verfälschung der Worte Engels' trat sofort mit entschiedenem Proteste Kautsky auf den Plan. Dabei gab Kautsky zu, dass der wirkliche Text Engels' von der veröffentlichten Fassung gewisse Abweichungen zeige. Wenn in der Einleitung Engels' revolutionäre Weltanschauung nicht mit der nötigen Klarheit und Bestimmtheit hervortrete, so „trägt nicht er daran Schuld, sondern deutsche Freunde, die in ihn drangen, den Schluss, weil zu revolutionär, wegzulassen; sie meinten, das Vorwort spreche auch ohnedem deutlich genug. Wie aber Figura zeigt, ist dies nicht der Fall." Worauf Kautsky Bernstein folgenden Vorschlag macht:

„Bernstein besitzt die nachgelassenen Manuskripte unseres Meisters. Sollte sich darunter auch das Manuskript der Vorrede mit dem gestrichenen Schlusse befinden, dann fordere ich ihn auf, diesen Schluss zu veröffentlichen, den Engels nur aus äusserlichen Rücksichten, nicht aus inneren Bedenken fortliess. Er wird deutlich beweisen, wie wenig Bernstein Ursache hat, sich auf Engels zu berufen!"*

Bernstein hat auf diese Herausforderung nicht reagiert, wahrscheinlich, weil er das Original der Einleitung nicht finden konnte. Dessenungeachtet wiederholte er hartnäckig in allen späteren Auf-

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Verlauf ihrer weiteren Rede auch immer wieder betont, dass Marx und Engels von dem Boden, auf dem sie 1848 gestanden, „prinzipiell nie abgewichen" seien, so ändert das nichts an der Tatsache, dass selbst Rosa Luxemburg mit einer Entgleisung Engels' rechnete, dass also auch ihr der wahre Umfang der Einleitung unbekannt geblieben.

Dagegen wirkt es mehr als befremdend, wenn die Bernsteinsche Legende, laut welcher Engels „die Marxsche Taktik zu revidieren, d. h. sie zu beseitigen" getrachtet haben soll, sich in einer Schrift wiederfindet, die noch unlängst in einem kommunistischen Parteiverlag erschienen ist. Wir meinen die Schrift M. Beers „Krieg und Internationale" (Verlag für Literatur und Politik, pag. 48—50). Auch ohne Kenntnis der hier zum erstenmal von Genossen Rjasanow angeführten ausgemerzten Stellen, war es doch zur Genüge bekannt, dass die Engels'sche Vorrede von Bernstein in verstümmelter, verfälschter Form veröffentlicht worden ist. Selbst ohne die „philologische" Aufdeckung der Fälschung war es klar, dass die Engels'sche Vorrede keine „Beseitigung der Marxschen Taktik" bezweckte, behandelte sie doch—wie Rosa Luxemburg schrieb—„nicht die Frage der endgültigen Eroberung der politischen Macht, sondern die des heutigen alltäglichen Kampfes, nicht das Verhalten des Proletariats gegenüber dem kapitalistischen Staate im Moment der Ergreifung der Staatsgewalt, sondern sein Verhalten im Rahmen des kapitalistischen Staates", was aus jeder Zeile des Vorwortes klar ist. (Vergl. Rosa Luxemburg, Sozialreform oder Revolution? Leipzig, Vulkan-Verlag 1919, pag. 46.) Die Redaktion

* K. Kautsky, Bernstein und die Dialektik. Die Neue Zeit, XVII, 2, pag. 46 bis 47.

lagen seines Buches, wie auch in Artikeln, er täte nichts anderes als treu das letzte Vermächtnis Engels' wahren.

So blieb denn nichts übrig, als Engels selbst zum Zeugen aufzurufen. Dabei stellte sich nun heraus, dass Engels noch bei Lebzeiten gegen die revisionistische Auslegung seiner Einleitung sehr entschieden protestiert hatte.

So veröffentlichte Lafargue folgende Stelle aus einem von Engels an ihn gerichteten, vom 3. April 1895 datierten Briefe:

„X. hat sich mit mir einen üblen Scherz erlaubt. Er hat meiner Einleitung zu den Marxschen Aufsätzen über Frankreich 1848—1850 alles entnommen, was ihm zur Verteidigung einer unter allen Umständen friedlichen und die Gewalt verabscheuenden Taktik, die es ihm seit einiger Zeit, besonders im gegenwärtigen Augenblick, da in Berlin Ausnahmegesetze vorbereitet werden, zu predigen beliebt, nützlich schien, während ich eine solche Taktik lediglich für das gegenwärtige Deutschland, dazu noch mit wesentlichen Einschränkungen empfehle. In Frankreich, Belgien, Italien und Österreich kann diese Taktik, als Ganzes genommen, nicht befolgt werden, und selbst in Deutschland kann sie sich schon morgen als unanwendbar erweisen . . ."**

Einen weiteren Beleg dafür, dass Engels von dem Gebrauch, den man von seiner Einleitung gemacht hatte, nicht sehr erbaut war, finden wir in dem Artikel Kautskys, den er später in seiner Broschüre „Der Weg zur Macht" abgedruckt hatte.*

Kautsky hatte Engels um die Erlaubnis gebeten, dessen Vorwort noch vor Erscheinen desselben gesondert in der „Neuen Zeit" abzudrucken. Indem Engels darauf „mit Vergnügen" einging, schrieb er ihm:

„Mein Text hat einiges gelitten unter Umsturzvorlagen—furchtsamlichen Bedenken unserer Berliner Freunde, denen ich unter den Umständen wohl Rechnung tragen musste."

Der Entwurf des neuen Antisozialistengesetzes, der sogenannten Umsturzvorlage, wurde im Reichstag am 5. Dezember 1894 eingebracht und von diesem am 14. Januar 1895 einer Kommission überwiesen, die ihn am 25. April beriet. Die Situation war äusserst

** Le Socialiste, 24. November 1900. „X...vient de me jouer un joli tour. Il a pris de mon introduction aux articles de Marx sur la France de 1848-50 tout ce qui a pu lui servir pour soutenir la tactique à tout prix paisible et antiviolente, qu'il lui plait de prêcher depuis quelque temps surtout en ce moment, où on prépare des lois coërcitives à Berlin. Mais cette tactique je ne la prêche que pour l'Allemagne d'aujourd'hui, et encore sous bonne réserve. Pour la France, la Belgique, l'Italie, l'Autriche, cette tactique ne saurait être suivie dans son ensemble et pour l'Allemagne elle pourra devenir inapplicable demain."

* K. Kautsky, Einige Feststellungen über Marx und Engels. Neue Zeit, XXVII., Band 1 (2. Oktober 1908).

ernst, was allein Engels Einverständnis zur Abschwächung einiger Redewendungen erklärt.

„Als aber der ‚Vorwärts' — schreibt Kautsky — wohl um die Kommissionsberatungen der Umsturzvorlage günstig zu beeinflussen, einige Stücke der Einleitung in einer Weise zusammenstellte und veröffentlichte, dass sie für sich allein jenen Eindruck hervorriefen, der nach den späteren Behauptungen der Revisionisten von Engels beabsichtigt war, da entbrannte dieser in hellem Zorn. In einem Brief vom 1. April schrieb er:

„Zu meinem Erstaunen sehe ich heute im ‚Vorwärts' einen Auszug aus meiner Einleitung ohne mein Vorwissen abgedruckt und derartig zurechtgestutzt, dass ich als friedfertiger Anbeter der Gesetzlichkeit quand même dastehe. Um so mehr wünschte ich, dass die Einleitung in der ‚Neuen Zeit' ungekürzt erschiene, damit dieser schmähliche Eindruck verwischt wird. Ich werde Liebknecht sehr bestimmt darüber meine Meinung sagen und auch denjenigen, die, wer sie auch seien, ihm diese Gelegenheit gegeben haben, meine Meinung zu entstellen."

Seitdem sind 30 Jahre verstrichen, und noch immer ist die Einleitung zu den „Klassenkämpfen" ungeachtet der Novemberrevolution von 1918 in ihrer ursprünglichen Fassung nicht veröffentlicht, ja, Bernstein fährt sogar in seiner „neuen, verbesserten und erweiterten Auflage" seiner „Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus" fort, alles, was er 1899 über den Wechsel in den Anschauungen Engels' gesagt hatte, unverändert zu wiederholen.**

So ist es ihm also nicht gelungen, das Manuskript Engels' aufzufinden. Glücklicherweise fand ich es unter den Papieren, die Bernstein dem Archiv der deutchen Sozialdemokratie vor einigen Tagen übergeben hatte. So sind wir denn nunmehr in der Lage, alle auf Drängen des Parteivorstandes der deutschen Sozialdemokratie im Jahre 1895 gestrichenen Stellen anzuführen.

Ein Vergleich des Originaltextes mit dem veröffentlichten Texte zeight, dass Kautsky in der Annahme, nur der Schluss habe gelitten, sich im Irrtum befand. In Wirklichkeit hat der Redaktionsstift gerade die letzten fünf Seiten der Einleitung besonders gründlich bearbeitet.

Nehmen wir die jetzt zugänglichere Ausgabe vom Jahre 1911 vor. die mit einem Vorwort Bebels* versehen ist, der, nebenbei bemerkt, der Frage, welchen Veränderungen die Einleitung Engels' unterworfen wurde, gänzlich aus dem Wege geht, und vergleichen wir diese Ausgabe mit dem Original, so stellt sich heraus, dass,

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** Stuttgart, Dietz, 1920, p. 49, 59.

* Karl Marx, Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848—1850. Mit Einleitung von F. Engels und einem Vorwort von August Bebel. Berlin 1911.

abgesehen von einigen stilistischen, belanglosen Differenzen bis zur 18. Seite keine wesentlichen Unterschiede zu konstatieren sind. Mit der 18. Seite ändert sich jedoch die Lage.

Um nicht die ganze Einleitung wiedergeben zu müssen, lassen wir hier absatzweise die abgeänderten Stellen in ihrer wahren Form folgen und beschränken uns darauf, die gestrichenen Stellen durch Kursivdruck hervorzuheben:

Seite 18 der deutschen Ausgabe:

„Selbst in der klassischen Zeit der Strassenkämpfe wirkte also die Barrikade mehr moralisch als materiell. Sie war ein Mittel, die Festigkeit der Militärs zu erschüttern. Hielt sie vor, bis dies gelang, so war der Sieg erreicht; wo nicht, war man geschlagen. Es ist dieses der Hauptpunkt, der im Auge zu behalten ist, auch wenn man die Chancen . . . künftiger Strassenkämpfe untersucht."

Es handelt sich somit nicht um einen Verzicht auf den Strassenkampf, nicht einmal auf Barrikaden, sondern lediglich um ein sorgfältigeres Abwägen der Chancen derselben.

Nachdem Engels des weiteren gezeigt, dass sich die Bedingungen des Strassenkampfes seit 1849 sowohl für das Volk als auch für die Armee stark verändert haben, schliesst er im veröffentlichten Texte diesen Absatz mit folgenden Worten (Seite 19 der deutschen Ausgabe):

„Und endlich sind die seit 1848 neugebauten Viertel der grossen Städte, in langen, geraden, breiten Strassen engelegt, wie gemacht für die Wirkung der neuen Geschütze und Gewehre. Der Revolutionär müsste verrückt sein, der sich die neuen Arbeiterdistrikte im Norden und Osten von Berlin zu einem Barrikadenkampf selbst aussuchte."

Doch die vorsichtigen Redakteure strichen den Schluss dieses Absatzes. Er lautet:

„Heisst das, dass in Zukunft der Strassenkampf keine Rolle mehr spielen wird? Durchaus nicht. Es heisst nur, dass die Bedingungen seit 1848 weit ungünstiger für die Zivilkämpfer, weit günstiger für das Militär geworden sind. Ein künftiger Strassenkampf kann also nur siegen, wenn diese Ungunst der Lage durch andere Momente aufgewogen wird. Er wird daher seltener im Anfang einer grossen Revolution vorkommen als im weiteren Verlauf einer solchen und wird mit grosseren Kräften unternommen werden müssen. Diese aber werden dann wohl, wie in der ganzen französischen Revolution, am 4. September und 31. Oktober 1870 in Paris, den offenden Angriff der passiven Barrikadentaktik vorziehen."

Diese Worte Engels' muten wie eine Prophezeiung der Erfahrung der Oktoberrevolution an! Wir erinnern daran, dass Engels bereits im Jahre 1854 in Verbindung mit dem spanischen Aufstand von 1854 in einem seiner für die „New York-Tribune" verfassten Artikel geschrieben hatte:

„Zweitens hatten wir das Schauspiel einer erfolgreichen Barrikadenschlacht. Wo immer seit dem Juni 1848 Barrikaden errichtet worden waren, hatten sie sich bisher als unwirksam erwiesen. Barrikaden, die Form des Widerstandes der Bevölkerung einer grossen Stadt gegen das Militär, schienen ganz ohne Wirkung zu sein. Diese ungünstige Auffassung ist widerlegt. Wir haben wieder siegreiche, unangreifbare Barrikaden gesehen. Der Bann ist gebrochen."*

Zu Seite 20 findet sich lediglich folgender kleiner Einsatz:

„Auch in den romanischen Ländern sieht man mehr und mehr ein, dass die alte Taktik revidiert werden muss. *Überall ist das unvorbereitete Losschlagen in den Hintergrund getreten,* überall hat man das deutsche Beispiel der Benützung des Wahlrechts, der Eroberung aller uns zugänglichen Posten, nachgeahmt." (Von uns ausgezeichnet. D. R.)

Seite 21 zeigt folgende von Engels selbst auf dem Korrekturbogen angebrachte Ergänzung:

„Auf 2¼ Millionen Wähler können wir schon heute rechnen. Geht das so voran, so erobern wir bis Ende des Jahrhunderts den grösseren Teil der Mittelschichten der Gesellschaft, Kleinbürger wie Kleinbauern, und wachsen aus zur entscheidenden Macht im Lande, vor der alle anderen Mächte sich beugen müssen, ob sie es wollen oder nicht."

Unmittelbar auf diese Worte folgt ein Satz, in dem die von uns hier kursiv gesetzten Worte gestrichen sind:

„Dies Wachstum ununterbrochen im Gang zu halten, bis es dem herrschenden Regierungssystem von selbst über den Kopf wächst, *diesen sich täglich verstärkenden Gewalthaufen nicht in Vorhutkämpfen aufzureiben, sondern ihn intakt zu erhalten bis zum Tage der Entscheidung,* das ist unsere Hauptaufgabe."

Auf derselben Seite, an der Stelle, wo Engels über die Möglichkeit blutiger Repressalien seitens der herrschenden Klassen spricht, ist im Schlussatz folgende Bemerkung gestrichen:

„Eine Partei, die nach Millionen zählt, aus der Welt schiessen, dazu reichen alle Magazingewehre von Europa und Amerika nicht hin. Aber die normale Entwicklung wäre gehemmt, *der Gewalthaufe wäre vielleicht im kritischen*

* Der Artikel erschien erneut in den von mir herausgegebenen „Gesammelten Schriften von K. Marx und F. Engels. Zweiter Band, p. 54.

(„entscheidenden", von *Engels* selbst durchgestrichen; D. R.) *Moment nicht verfügbar, der Entscheidungskampf* (im veröffentlichten Text: „die Entscheidung") verspätet, verlängert und mit schwereren Opfern verknüpft."

Konnten die zuletzt angeführten Veränderungen auch von Engels herrühren, so ist die folgende Kürzung auf Seite 22 ohne Zweifel das Werk der Parteizensur.

Indem Engels die preussischen Reaktionäre auffordert, zu „pfeifen", fährt er fort:

> „Vergessen Sie aber nicht, dass das Deutsche Reich, wie alle Kleinstaaten und überhaupt alle modernen Staaten, ein Produkt des Vertrages ist, des Vertrages erstens der Fürsten untereinander, zweitens der Fürsten mit dem Volk. Bricht der eine Teil den Vertrag, so fällt der ganze Vertrag, der andere Teil ist dann auch nicht mehr gebunden, *wie uns das Bismarck 1866 so schön vorgemacht hat. Brechen Sie also die Reichsverfassung, so ist die Sozialdemokratie frei, kann Ihnen gegenüber tun und lassen, was sie will. Was sie aber dann tun wird, das bindet sie Ihnen heute schwerlich auf die Nase.*"

Selbst eine solche äsopische Wendung schien dem Parteivorstand allzu stark!

Wir sehen somit, dass Engels allen Grund hatte, entrüstet zu sein, als man unter Berufung auf seine Einleitung zu den „Klassenkämpfen in Frankreich", d. h. zu derjenigen Arbeit Marx', die die unzweideutigste Begründung der revolutionären Diktatur des Proletariats gibt, den Versuch machte, ihn zu einem „friedfertigen Anbeter der Gesetzlichkeit quand même" su stempeln, besonders wenn das dazu noch diejenigen seiner Freunde taten, die ganz genau wussten, dass sie dabei ein Spiel mit markierten Karten spielten.

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